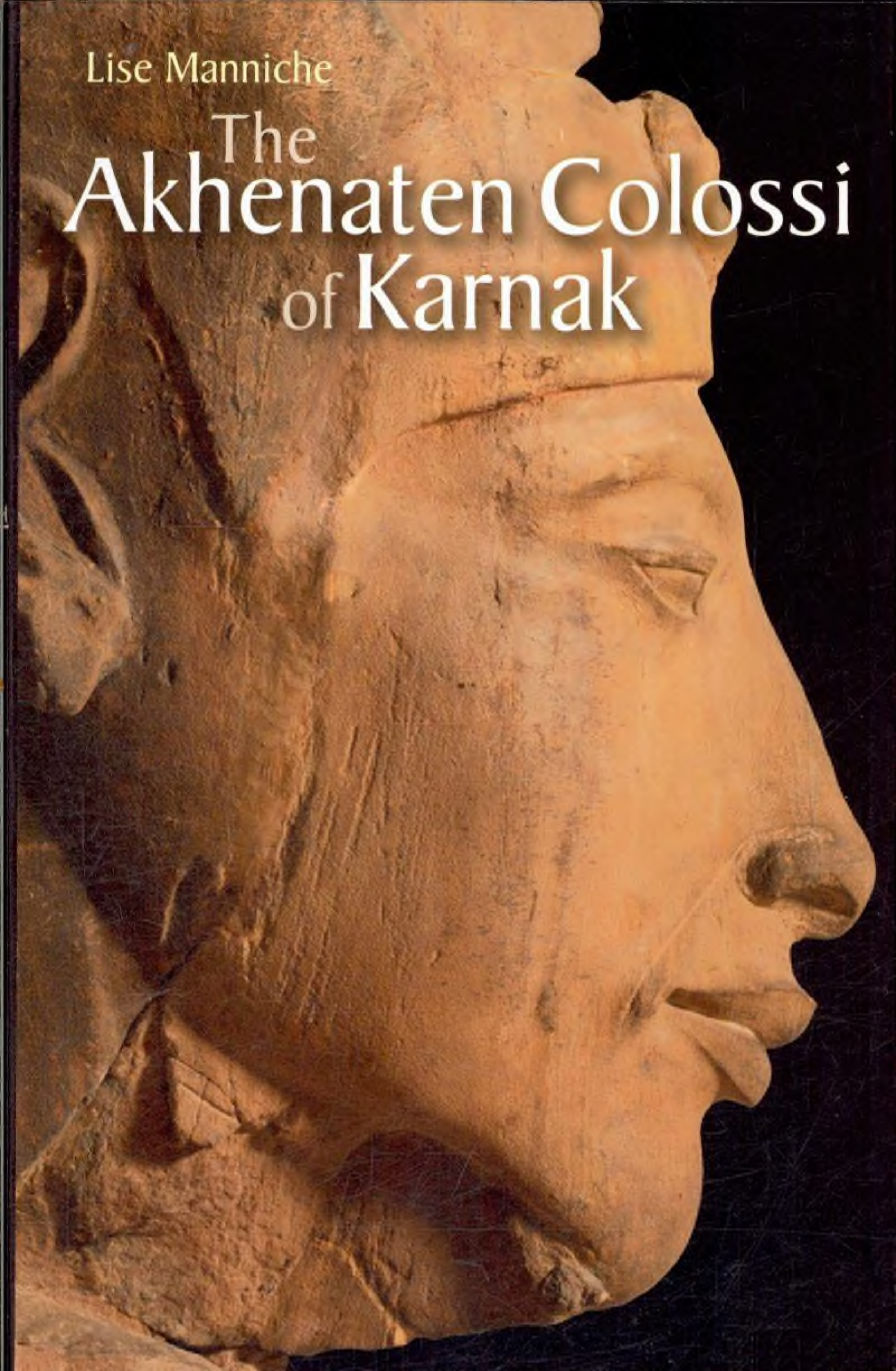

Lise Manniche
The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak

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Contents

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Preface

King Akhenaten (r. c. 1353–1335 BC) was no doubt the most controversial ruler Egypt had ever seen. Soon after his death his monuments were taken apart and hidden inside or under subsequent buildings; his statues were overturned, mutilated, and destroyed; and his name was never to be included in the king lists carved in stone or recorded on papyrus during the reigns of his successors. It was only with the decipherment of the hieroglyphs in the 1820s that the name of Akhenaten was spoken once more. By the mid-nineteenth century he had entered Egyptological literature as a fanatic protagonist of monotheism, exclusively worshiping the sun-disk in a world where gods were many and cast in the bodies of men or animals or combinations of both. He was allegedly the author of a hymn that has been acclaimed as a major literary work; he elevated the spoken language of his time to the official written language, and he made himself, his wife Nefertiti, and the sun-disk the center of the universe. Altering both subject matter and style, he set up a new canon of representation that in modern viewers has caused a train of reactions: a stroke of genius or a nightmare?

The art of the Amarna period, as it is known after the king's new capital near Amarna in Middle Egypt, is the most fascinating of all Egyptian artistic achievements for the very reason that it is different from the rest and was produced during a reign of just seventeen years. This in itself may be of passing interest, and in order to qualify as being great and everlasting it will require a perfect marriage of form and message. Ancient art presents the problem that the proclamation is obscured by incomplete information and hampered by cultural differences, not to mention sympathetic yet inadequate attempts at interpretation, which, when repeated, acquire a truth of their own. Nowhere is this more apparent than when studying the world of Akhenaten and Nefertiti.

It was the discovery in 1925 of the first two colossal statues in the temple of Karnak that accelerated the debate on the king's physique and his choice of iconography. The king's strangely feminine body and elongated face were incompatible with any previously held ideas of Egyptian royal sculpture for appearing idealistic, serene, and eternally unchanging. The subsequent discovery in 1930 of a colossus deprived of male sexual characteristics was perplexing, and attempts at explaining these peculiar features have been forthcoming until this moment.

The colossal statues presented here, constituting a well-defined series, are made of sandstone. They were originally about four meters high and set up along the inside south wall and the southern end of the west wall of a large open court that was part of a temple to the Aten east of the enclosure wall of the temple of Karnak. A similar arrangement is known from temples of previous rulers who erected non-supporting 'Osiris pillars' of themselves in their temples. Along the remaining walls were colossal statues of other material. Some of them are inscribed with the king's early name, Amenhotep, and the work must thus have been initiated and carried out before his Year 5, when he became Akhenaten. This is confirmed by information on the building blocks of the monument itself, the talatat, tens of thousands of which have been recovered in the area.

A few of the colossi have been reproduced many times. Others have traveled with exhibitions abroad. Special studies have been carried out on their artistic merit, their purpose, and the pathology of the king who erected them. But a presentation of all the available body parts has not been available before. We can now identify in excess of thirty colossi of the same size and material, found in the same location at East Karnak. Chapter 1 deals with the history of the excavation of the colossi and their relation to the monument of which they formed a part. Chapter 2 is a catalog of the colossi fragments, many of which are illustrated with photographs taken at the time of discovery or while they were in store on the site. Chapter 3 introduces the multiple attempts at an interpretation of the purpose of the colossi, while Chapter 4 is dedicated to the aesthetics of the colossi and their novel appearance. Finally, Chapter 5 reviews the question of the pathology of the king.

This book had as its starting point an ongoing study on sexuality in ancient Egyptian society. In this context the complexity of the case of Akhenaten had to be addressed, and this necessitated an attempt at disentangling not just the mythology of the colossi, but also the fundamental issue of their number. It soon turned into a project in itself.

Chapter 1

Discovery

The first person in modern times to set eyes on the extraordinary sculptures of Akhenaten was Maurice Pillet, French architect and director of works for the Egyptian Antiquities Service at Karnak. On 1 July 1925 he was engaged in rescue work east of the eastern gate of the enclosure wall of the Karnak temple where an existing drain, dug alongside the wall on three sides, was being enlarged to protect the temple



Fig. 1.1 East Karnak today with the eastern gate of Karnak and the temple behind.

from damage caused by rising subsoil water. Pillet did not record the circumstances of his discovery, and his name is connected with it only through brief references by his successor, Henri Chevrier, a year later. Blocking the intended extension of the drainage canal Pillet had found the remains of



Fig. 1.2 One of the first two colossi found in the drainage ditch: JE 49529 (A1).

- **two very large colossi of Akhenaten** (A1, D9) ("deux statues très importantes d'Akhnaton")[1]

It is a curious fact that they were among the best preserved of all the colossi, most of the rest, found in rather more carefully planned excavations, being reduced to body parts. Without further ado the two colossi were dispatched to the Cairo Museum where they were cataloged as Journal d'Entrée 49528 and 49529. In an article written much later, in 1961,[2] Pillet briefly discusses the appearance of the colossi and previous assessments of their qualities (see Chapter 3), but nothing is mentioned about the discovery of the first two.

Since it has not been possible to identify the majority of the body parts mentioned by Chevrier with specific sculpture and inventory numbers of museums and storerooms, it was considered appropriate to include reference to the numbers applied in our catalog section of body parts (Chapter 2) only where an identification is certain. Chevrier's vague chronological numbering system from the time of his excavations has also been abandoned, the individual items as discovered being here indicated by an indented line and in bold letters.[3]

Chevrier was an engineer by profession, and took over from Pillet on 20

March 1926, the main tasks being the massive clearing and restoration work required in the temple of Amun. His specific duties for the remaining months of the season were to continue clearing the Third Pylon and removing the items found in it, and "to explore the part of the drain which gave us this summer the two statues of Akhenaten to see if there might be other statues or other fragments," as well as to initiate the rebuilding of the temple of Khonsu, or that of Ramesses III, or the buildings of Hatshepsut near the sanctuary.[4] On studying earlier photographs of the area showing crumbling pylons and collapsed columns, one realizes why such rescue work outside the temple proper may have been seen as an unwelcome distraction, and why Chevrier's annual reports in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte (ASAE)* are reduced to the bare minimum—this in spite of the fact that he recognized the statues as being "very large" and "truly extraordinary."[5] The area east of the temple was a dump, filled with a layer of 1.5–2m of soil that had been dug from the canal and added to the accumulated residue of millennia when it had been used as a burial ground.[6]

It took the workers a week to reach the level of the statues, the first discoveries consisting of:

- **fragments of cartouches with remains of blue pigment and parts of hands** ("fragments de cartouches dont les creux portaient des traces bleues et fragments de mains")[7]

Three days later the lower course of a pillar appeared, set on a layer of chipped sandstone. Chevrier followed the east–west line suggested by the position of the first two colossi and pillar base, clearing the area toward the east wall of the temple as illustrated in his report (fig. 1.3).

What look like footprints in the plan represent a head with a crown and back pillar. According to Donald B. Redford, who was to continue the excavations at a much later date (see pages 14–16), this is an oversimplified plan.[8] Letters A and B refer to fragments found the following season.[9] Chevrier soon came across:

- **nine heads** ("la première des neuf têtes qui devaient être découvertes pendant la campagne")[10]

bringing the total of known colossi to eleven. His figs. nos. 1–4 in the report give a selection of heads and crowns from these first two campaigns: presumably those later to become Cairo TR 29.5.49.1 (B4) and JE 98894

(D8), as well as JE 49528 (D9) and JE 49529 (A1). A numbering system then had to be devised for his report. On his first plan the issue is confused by the fact that he numbered the pillars (interpreting them as bases), not the heads, whereas in his text, the numbers refer to colossi. His numbers 5 and 6 apply to the (pillars pertaining to the) two colossi found by Pillet, but the position of the two in relation to each other is not revealed. By studying Chevrier's sketch plan it becomes apparent that his nos. 3 and 4 relate to two pillars where two heads described in his text were found together; a third head said to have been found two meters to the west must therefore be the one near his pillar no. 2. Four unspecified heads east of the canal correspond to his pillars nos. 7–10. An intriguing reference concerns:

- **a statue base with toes** ("base avec la partie antérieure des pieds"—see Chapter 2, L59).[11]

The statues had been provided with a back pillar carved out of one and the same piece of sandstone (fig. 1.4). Chevrier refers to these back pillars as "enormous," and he compares the sculptures with Osiris pillars. It was evident to him that attempts had been made to disengage these back pillars from the colossi in order to use them as building material. The area was strewn with chips resulting from this activity. The statues had originally been set along ("devant") a wall, but they had been overturned and laid face down. At this point in time Chevrier was unsure as to whether he was excavating the façade of a building or a peristyle court inside one. Throughout his reports, Chevrier refers to the talatat pillars as "socles,"[12] and there can be little doubt that he is implying that the colossi had been placed on top of them, in front of the said wall. This latter was built of blocks measuring 55 x 26 x 22 cm, approximating to what we now know as a regular talatat. Later excavations have revealed that this wall was indeed the foundation of a wall of decorated talatat, according to Chevrier set 1.7m deeper ("en contre-bas") than the pillars,[13] its thickness being the equivalent of four rows of blocks. This statement was later reassessed by Redford, who found that the wall consisted of five ranges of stones: three headers lined by an outer range of stretchers.[14] Chevrier adds a cryptic phrase that is not discussed again: "Behind this wall the trench of the drain shows débris of sandstone derived from quarrying an entire building which extended south of the row of statues."[15] A possible explanation of what may have been in this area may be inferred from a suggestion by Nicholas Reeves: "The structural location [i.e., of the Gempaaten], to the north of the temple of Amun, was presumably balanced on the south

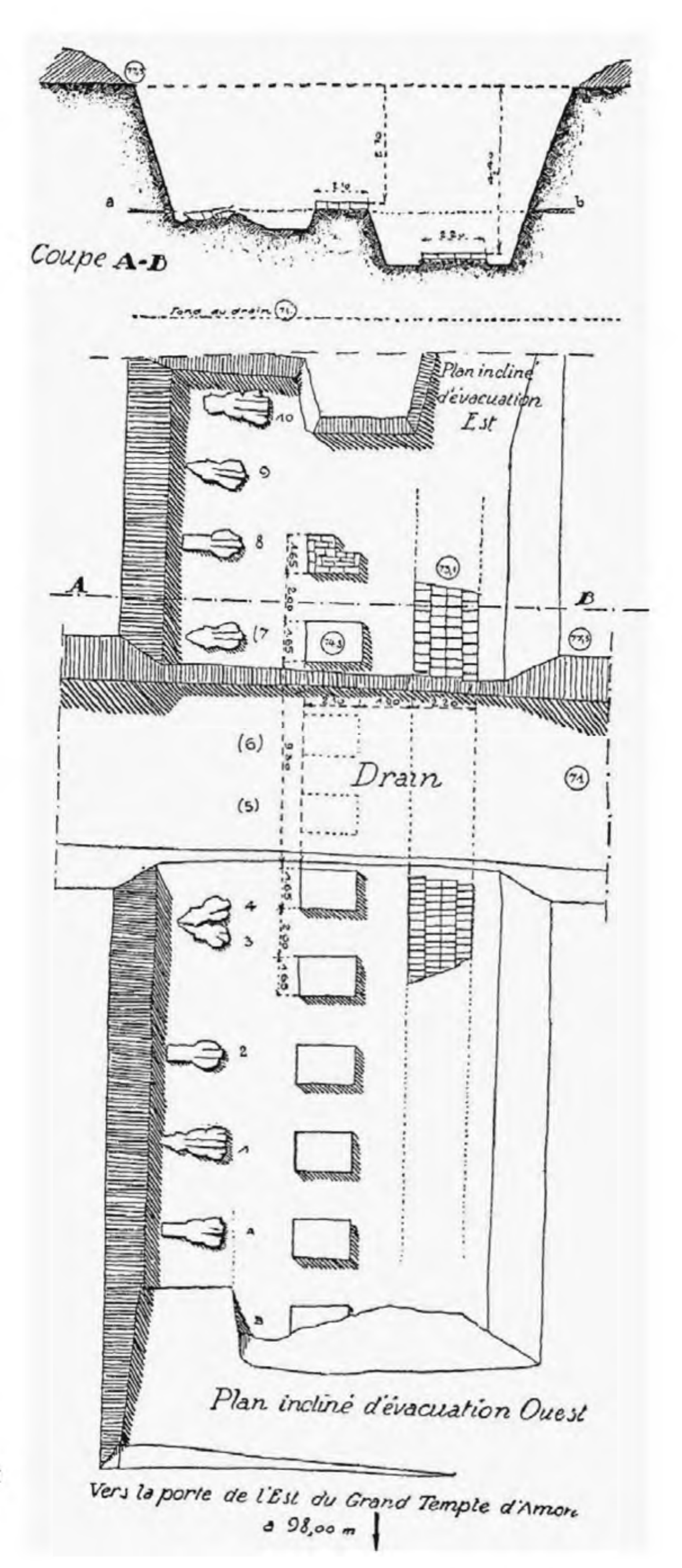


Fig. 1.3 Chevrier's first plan (*ASAE* 26, 1926, p. 192).



Fig. 1.4 JE 99065 (D10) showing area where back pillar was removed.

by the king's palace; this structure is mentioned in the texts but, since it will have been of mud-brick construction, no traces have survived."[16]

At the end of the season, Chevrier had the area tidied up, leaving the neat, straight lines to the north which appear as a cross-hatched area to the left in his plan. To finish off, and to prevent clandestine activities over the summer, he excavated a small area on either side of the drain, discovering, on the east side,

- **a head and torso** ("un très beau fragment d'une nouvelle statue, compose de la tête et du torse jusqu'au coudes") (B4?)
- **and, on the west, another head** ("sur le coté ouest . . . encore une tête")[17]

In total, nine heads had been found that season along with numerous fragments. Chevrier adds that he has noted traces of color on the pieces (his fig. 1 (B3)): nemes with alternating blue and yellow stripes; beard, blue; uraeus and lips, red.

On 12 November 1926 the work was resumed.[18] In order to avoid dumping soil where he was later to excavate, Chevrier had it taken to an area north of the site where, having had negative results in testing for archaeological remains, he left it distributed in a layer 1.1m thick. He does not specify how far north this area was located—he would have had no inkling of the scale of Akhenaten's monument! During this season he continued to dig along the east–west axis, first toward the main temple of Karnak.[19] The pillars were now designated by letters (fig. 1.5). After eight days the workers encountered five groups of stone placed 1.2m above the base of the talatat pillars (marked as a–e on his plan), the significance of which he was unable to explain (Redford has since suggested that these "resemble those inconsequential clusters of fragments, thought upon first detection to be significant, which the reis leaves on little pedestals while the digging continues").[20] On attaining the level of the pillars, he found in front of C a fragment of a crown as well as debris between B and C. Then one find followed another in rapid succession—so rapidly that details of the circumstances were not included:

- **A head and torso** "facing" pillar D ("un très beau fragment composé du torse et de la tête en face de 'D'"), easily identified with Luxor Museum (Karakôl no. 47) (E12) by the re-carving of the headdress mentioned and even drawn by Chevrier as his fig. 5.
- **Part of a torso** (belt to neck (K38)) and, separately, **a head** (his pl. III, 1 (G14)), in front of pillar E ("un corps coupé à la ceinture et au cou . . . deux têtes l'une sur l'autre dont l'une appartient au corps précédent")
- **A head with a red crown**[21] ("une tête coiffée de la couronne rouge"), drawn by Chevrier as his fig. 6, and visible to the right in his pl. IV (H25)
- **A head** found over or under the one **belonging to the torso**
- A lot of debris[22]

A frequently published photograph (fig. 1.6) (cf. his pl. IV)[23] shows Chevrier's excavation trench with some of the sculptures in it. In later literature this is often described as being a picture of the colossi *in situ*. This is strictly speaking not the case. The sculptures have been lifted from where they fell face down (figs. 1.3, 1.6) and placed against the remains of the respective pillars. The reason for this could have been a practical one: this is where the trench

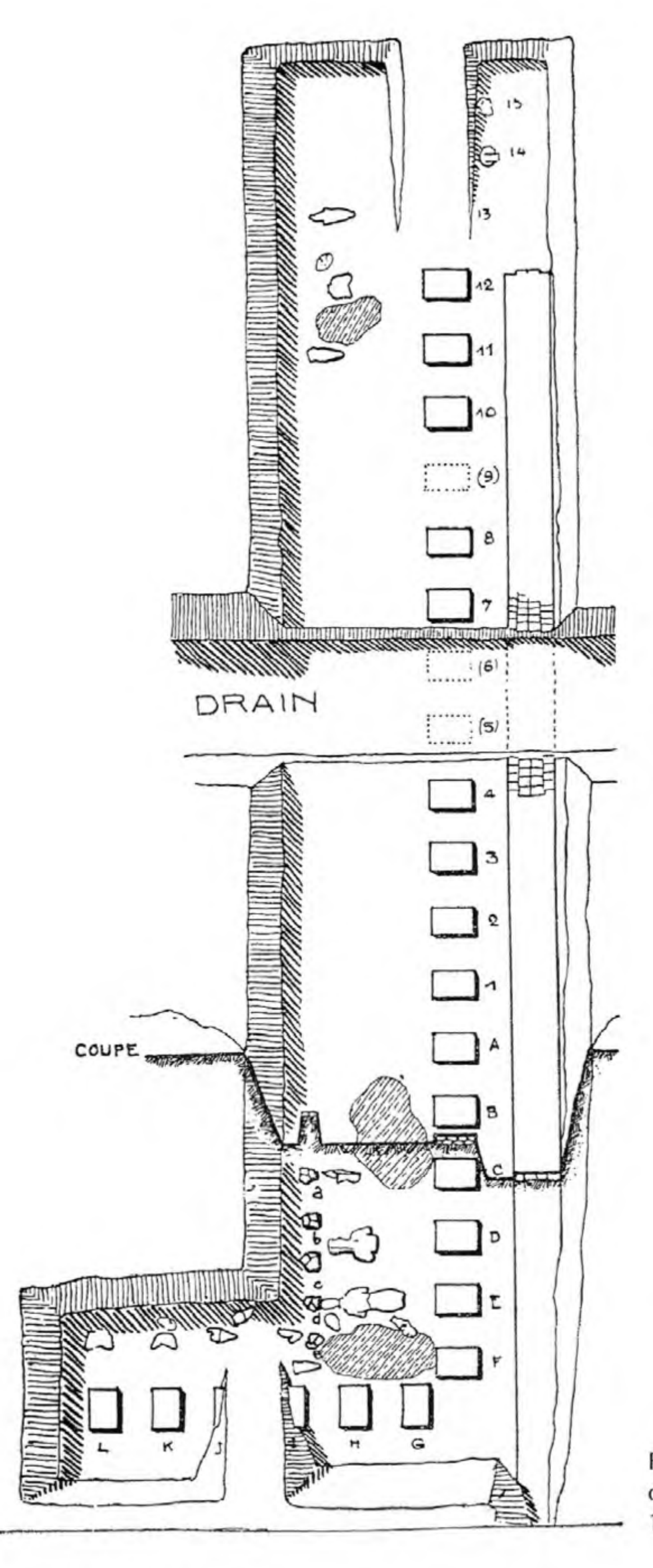


Fig.1.5 Chevrier's second plan (*ASAE* 27, 1927, p. 144 fig. 4).

was, and it provided convenient access to the area. That this was an issue is revealed by a photograph showing Pierre Lacau, director of the Antiquities Service, accompanying King Fuad on a visit to the site. It is a rare picture, which shows a colossus (K38 and E12) as seen from behind (fig. 1.7).[24]

The added accumulation of debris was soon explained by the fact that Chevrier had reached a corner. After F the pillars now turned to the north. This remains the only substantial corner of the monument located to this day.[25]

The colossi here had been thrown together, but the heads of those belonging to F, G, and H were in fair condition, although no details that would enable us to identify them are given. The finds along the south–north axis were as follows:

- **Three heads at F, G and H**
- **At the foot of I, a head with nemes and plumes** ("une tête coiffée du claft surmonté de l'amorce des plumes")
- **At K, a head in three pieces that could be put together, and part of its crown and front torso** ("la tête de 'K' en trois fragments qui ont pu être rassemblés, deux couronnes et deux portions antérieures des torses de 'K' et de 'L'")[26]
- **At L, a crown and front torso** (see above)[27]

A photograph of one of the heads found this season was published as Chevrier's pl. III, 2 and can thus be identified with Luxor Museum J46 (G15). Apart from the head+torso Luxor Museum (E12) none of the other fragments has so far been localized or identified in museums.

Due to financial problems, work was not resumed until 1928.[28] With one exception, the

- **few heads**

found were in poor condition ("très mutilées").[29] To the east Chevrier was able to identify the emplacement of some talatat pillars until this work was obstructed by the presence of the village of Nag al-Fuqana.

"On the western side" an uninterrupted line of pillar emplacements was found (that is, on the south–north axis?) along with mouth and chin of a "larger" statue of gray granite. This then is from a different series from those carved of sandstone (cf. Redford's subsequent finds, page 15). The following season, delayed by not being able to fund the excavation from

Fig.1.6 Chevrier excavations 1926.

Fig. 1.7 A royal visit to the excavations: King Fuad with Pierre Lacau and Ernesto Verrucci, an Italian who was chief court architect in Cairo.

means set aside for restoration and consolidation in the main temple at Karnak, Chevrier was able to continue his work on the south–north axis.[30] Four new pillars were found and

- **four destroyed heads** ("quatre têtes plus ou moins abimées")[31]

A mere six lines were given to describing the most extraordinary find:

- **the sexless colossus** ("asexué") (JE 55938 (H26))

"particularité vraiment surprenante" (see fig. 2.45). One detail of the discovery was, however, revealed: the head was found next to the body, but instead of being face down as with previous heads, it was gazing at the stars ("tournée vers le ciel").[32] Owing to a mishap with a negative, a photograph of this colossus was not published until the following year.[33] Then there was nothing—no pillars, no statue fragments at a distance of about fifteen meters from where the drainage canal turned west. Nor had the supposed western wall been located. On the positive side, twenty pillar emplacements and parts of twenty-five colossi in all had been recovered.

During the following season, 1930–31, no work was carried out owing to the legal and financial entanglements of expropriation.[34] These were eventually sorted out, allowing Chevrier to continue his excavations toward the east during the 1931–32 season.[35] After five days' work:

- **a fragment of a back pillar** appeared ("pilier auquel est appuyée la statue," not a "socle")

This is the only such back pillar to be mentioned in his reports at all. The next day came:

- **a beautiful 'mask'** ("un masque en très bon état")
- and, after another day, **a nose and mouth** ("nez et bouche")

placed in the same direction as the head. This must be either the fragment in Munich, ÄS 6290 (I34), or the one in Cambridge, E.GA 4516.1943 (I33). The last day yielded

- another **beautiful 'mask'** ("un excellent masque") and some fragments of cartouches.



Fig. 1.8 View of the southeast corner of the site, looking east. Edwin Brock is pointing to the north.

The area had been totally devastated to the extent that only the statue fragments suggested the outline of the monument. Chevrier thought that the material had been reused elsewhere. In May 1933 he persevered in the same unpromising area, hoping to meet up with the southeastern corner of the monument, but his only reward was

- **a 'mask'** ("un masque du roi")

where he would have expected to find parts of seven or eight statues.[36] The work had to come to an end where the village began. When he continued his excavation to the north along the western wall he found nothing.

By January 1936 a few more houses in the village had been expropriated, and Chevrier and his team of workers must have been relieved to discover, on day two, traces of a pillar as well as:

- **part of a colossus (stomach and pleated kilt)** ("morceau de ventre avec les plis du pagne")[37]



Fig. 1.9 View of the village today. The eastern perimeter of Akhenaten's building is intersected by the road.

The next day appeared, all placed along the east–west axis,

- **two elbows, the head of a uraeus, and other small pieces** ("deux coudes, la tête d'un uraeus, et quelques fragments de petites dimensions")[38]
- a **chin and lip fragment** (I33?)

—and then again nothing for twelve days. Abandoning the site,[39] Chevrier once more turned to the south–north wall, pursuing it to the north, past the drain: five weeks and no results whatsoever. In March 1937 Chevrier worked for sixteen days without finding anything at all.[40] He finally gave up. Little did he know that had he continued for less than one meter further north, he would have come across the western entrance of the monument. This was not to be located until forty years later. In November 1952 he was back along the south–north axis near the drain, facing the east wall of the main temple. At the level of the talatat pillars (now called "piédestals"), traces of pavement were found as well as a few loose talatat and bases of two columns.[41] These latter are marked on his pl. VIII B, being placed on an east–west axis. They



Fig. 1.10 The site looking northeast from the emplacement of the southern wall of the building.

have not been heard of since. Some of the finds from the Chevrier excavations were eventually stored in the Karakôl at Karnak (fig. 1.11).

Redford's Excavations

It fell to archaeologists from the University of Toronto, headed by Donald B. Redford, to provide further clarification of the monument of Akhenaten. Excavations took place from 1975 to 1985.[42] This had been preceded by the creation in 1966 of the Akhenaten Temple Project for the study of talatat found reused in later monuments.[43] Following the trenches dug by Horemheb when dismantling his predecessor's building he came to the conclusion that access to the monument was at a distance of 62m north of its southwest corner, immediately to the south of the ancient east–west drain. It was originally marked by a pylon 10.6m wide. Its access toward the west had been marked by two walls of decorated talatat flanked by rows of a minimum of eight bases measuring 2 x 1.2m, leaving a space 4.15m wide.

On pushing north of this pylon Redford established a continuation of the south–north line of talatat pillars. In front of the pillars and statues was once a terrace of sandstone slabs—as also suggested by Chevrier for the southern part. The main difference was that the statues to be positioned here were not made of sandstone, but of red and yellow quartzite

and red and black granite—all reduced to smithereens. Redford estimated that they were above natural size, but smaller than the sandstone colossi. Their back pillars were inscribed.[44] The expedition was unable to identify the northwestern corner of the building, and it was estimated that the western wall must have been at least 140m long. Near this point Redford finally came across two fragments of sandstone colossi, and later an arm with a flail.[45] Hence he suggested that the northern part of the monument was similar to that to the south. Inscriptions on talatat found at the site indicate that the name of the building was Gempaaten, and the scheme of decoration concerned the sed-festival. The monument has finally been estimated to have measured 210m north–south and more than 700m east–west with a perimeter wall 2m thick and 9m high and a mud-brick enclosure wall.[46]



Fig. 1.11 Colossi from Chevrier's excavations stored in the Karakôl at Karnak, photographed in 1970.

In recent years more drainage work has been undertaken in the area, and in 2004 Redford did not expect his excavations to be resumed.[47]

Brock Excavations

In 2002–2003 Edwin Brock undertook excavations on the site in connection with the ongoing work on the sewerage project. He has kindly submitted the following notice for inclusion here:[48]

> Trenching for the installation of a sewerage system in Luxor as part of the Secondary Cities Project, Luxor Wastewater Facility began in the area east of Karnak temple in October 2002 until April 2003. During this period I served as archaeological consultant with the responsible engineering firm, Camp Dresser and McKee. This work followed test excavations that I carried out in July and August 2002 at several sites in the area to locate possible remains of the Akhenaten temple where the intended sewerage lines were to be excavated. No certain indications of the temple remains were uncovered in these test pits, which were situated along possible intersections of sewerage trenches with projections eastwards of the known north and south walls of the temple. However, it was subsequently determined that one of these test pits had probably encountered part of the exterior of the eastern mud brick enclosure wall of the temple, although there had been nothing to indicate the date of the remains at the time of the test excavations.

For relevant finds from these excavations see Chapter 2.

Chapter 2
Catalog

Two fragments of heads of colossi have surfaced on the art market and are now in England and Germany. All other pieces are in museums or storehouses in Egypt. The head and upper torso of a third were donated to the Louvre in Paris.

The information for this catalog is derived from various types of sources:[1] 1) publications as indicated; 2) the archives of the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak (CFEETK); 3) the Journal d'Entrée and Temporary Register at the Egyptian Museum, Cairo; 4) personal observations of the fragments displayed in museums and those stored in the Sheikh Labib storehouse in Karnak;[2] 5) observations and photographs by Robert Partridge of some of the fragments in the late 1990s; 6) information and photographs supplied by Edwin Brock of objects discovered during his recent excavations at East Karnak.

Illustrations

It was decided to use as many of the early black-and-white photographs as possible in order to give an impression of the catalog that ought to have been published over fifty years ago. This is of particular importance in those cases where parts are now missing or have become separated. Where such photos were not available, more recent ones have been supplied, but are also reproduced in black and white. Where possible, both front and profile views are given, with the addition of the sketches made by Chevrier of six of the heads.

It would seem that subsequent to the discovery of the colossi they were studied and (to some extent) photographed on two occasions in particular: in the 1970s when one of the colossi was being prepared for shipment

to the Louvre, providing the opportunity for two important articles by Christiane Desroches Noblecourt,[3] and in 1998, preparatory to the "Pharaohs of the Sun" exhibition, when Rita Freed was granted access to the basement of the Egyptian Museum.[4]

Numbering

The fragments presented here have been numbered for the present purpose, beginning with the large group of fragments that include a head or part thereof (A–I), continuing with separate crowns (J) and body parts without heads (K), and concluding with a base (L). The total number of extant colossi remains conjectural, as body parts and even parts of faces and crowns may belong to heads that have already received a number, but there is at present tangible evidence of some thirty-five colossi.

Some of the fragments were originally numbered by the Antiquities Department, when they were first deposited in the storehouse called the Karakôl within the Karnak enclosure.[5] A number of the pieces sent directly to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo received a *Journal d'Entrée* (JE) number or a *Temporary Register* (TR) number.[6] The first colossi to be exhibited there had an additional four-digit exhibition number. At least one head in the Cairo museum basement does not have a number at all.[7] Among the heads moved to the Luxor Museum, three of the pieces on display have been given an inventory number prefixed by a J (our C5, G14, G15), and the two heads included in the original catalog of the museum (C5, G14) also have a catalog number. The head in the Alexandria National Museum (A2) has a separate number written on it that differs from the earlier numbering system and is reminiscent of a three-digit number on a head in Cairo (D10).

Present Location

The most important fragments would appear to be in the museums in Cairo, Luxor, and Alexandria, either on display or in storage. Some of the heads in the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo are scheduled to be transferred to the new Museum of Egyptian Civilization.[8] A significant number, formerly in the Karakôl, have now been moved to storage facilities outside Karnak at a location called Abu Gûd.[9] The majority of these have not been published, but the heads and body parts were photographed while still in the Karakôl in the 1970s (cf. fig. 1.11). The negatives are now with the CFEETK. Smaller fragments and a larger one, now again in two pieces (our K 39), are in the Sheikh Labib storehouse at Karnak. A number of fragments

recently discovered by E. Brock were until recently in the so-called 'sewerage storehouse' at Karnak, but have now been moved to Sheikh Labib.

Measurements

The dimensions of the fragments are given when available, but they do not always agree (some discrepancies are indicated in parentheses). In order to be of serious use they would have to be exceedingly accurate, and this was not possible for the present publication. It would seem that, generally speaking, the colossi are more or less of uniform size.

The Mutilation of the Colossi

The colossi have been deliberately smashed up, following a certain pattern, very probably for the purpose of reusing the more substantial parts of stone. One would not be surprised to find pieces being re-employed as fill in one of the few monuments that has not yet been investigated to its core: the Tenth Pylon built by Horemheb. But until further proof comes to light, this remains in the realm of speculation. The torso of such a colossus, and the back pillar to which it was originally attached, would invite reuse as a compact block for this purpose. The same would be the case with its base. The spindly legs and the carved head would be much less suitable. During the process, parts of arms would also easily have become disengaged, and these heads and elbow sections are the ones that survived in some number on the ground, along with beards and kneecaps. Of the remains of about thirty-five colossi only four torsos survive, and just one leg fragment, as well as one base.

However, some of the colossi had been victims of another kind of destruction (fig. 2.1). A specific group of them (H19–23, H25–26, and I28–30) shows intentional mutilation of the eyes, nose, and, in most cases, mouth. Another (H24) has had the entire face chopped off, perhaps after initial disfiguring of the face (cf. fig. 2.41). As eyes and nose have also been attacked in I28–30, these latter may also perhaps originally have had the double crown alone and thus belong with this group, making in all eleven heads with similar characteristics: double crown directly on the head and carefully mutilated face. One head, apparently wearing khat or nemes (G16), is even more severely damaged, perhaps for a different reason, the same being perhaps the case with F13, wearing khat. A selective mutilation of this kind, apparently carried out with great deliberation, and not in a frenzy (similar to Akhenaten's own mutilation of Amun), must be of a personal nature, the perpetrators having considered these colossi as relating to one particular individual. For some reason one of them (H27) seems

to have been spared (see further below). We know nothing of when this destructive work took place. It could have been done before the colossi were overturned and finally dismembered. In the case of the 'sexless' colossus, the head is said to have been lying face upward, implying that at least some of the others were not (but we do not know if any of these were among those wearing double crown only). If the mutilation had been done last, one would perhaps expect the heads to have been left face up.

Some of the colossi have a substantial number of chisel marks on the body, made with a fine, pointed instrument. This is particularly evident in the 'sexless' colossus (H26—upper inside thighs, right outside thigh, and shoulder) (cf. fig. 2.47) and JE 49529 (A1—left hip) (cf. fig. 3.4). A larger chisel was employed on the flail of K40 (cf. fig. 2.65) and on the strange, vertical band chopped across the crown of H21 (cf. fig. 2.37), and, made with a more pointed instrument, on the upper part of the double crown of A2. On other pieces where parts are missing there are no clear chisel marks at all, but the remaining surface is of an almost biscuit-like texture (the totally removed face of H24 and the backs of D10, E12, and K38).



Fig. 2.1 Mutilated face of H22.

In 1975, when examining G15 on the occasion of its exhibition in Brussels, Roland Tefnin made the following observations, comparing the mutilation of the colossi with a previous case of personal persecution:[10]

> There is general agreement that the statues of Amenhotep IV were savagely overturned and broken after his death so that the image of the heretic should disappear forever. More than a century earlier this had been the fate of the statues of queen Hatshepsut. Mostly reduced to smithereens as a result of the prescription of her successor, Tuthmosis III, they have regained an appearance of completeness only thanks to a lengthy process of re-assembling and restoration at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. By contrast, among the remains of statues of Amenhotep IV found on site in the Aten temple at Karnak there are a fair number of faces so perfectly intact as to suggest that the statues were destroyed with some care, and even respectfully. Such is the case with this mask, free from any damage, which seems to have been disengaged very carefully and not thrown to the ground, for the delicate sandstone from which it was sculpted would not have survived such brutal treatment. Here is an indication that should be taken into account in any historical reconstruction of the period of return to orthodoxy at the end of the 18th dynasty.



Fig. 2.2 D8 before restoration.

However, in spite of the fact that the impression is one of artificial intervention, the damage described by Tefnin may be incidental.[11] In these cases it was not only the face that became detached but also the lower part of the crown, leaving a fairly neat surface (D8, fig. 2.02) as well as a collection of "masks" (Chevrier's terminology). Another one among the restored heads had a break exactly where the detached face has now rejoined the rest of the head (D10). Two heads (E12 and H27) have a characteristic downward-sloping break at the back where the crown became separated.

It is equally significant to consider *absence* of mutilation. If the aggression was aimed at Akhenaten's person, one would have expected all faces to have been attacked, not just a specific selection of them, and the king's names would not have been left intact on the belts of colossi (A1, K38, and K50), nor in the large hieroglyphs on the leg fragment (K58). The majority of the colossi were simply overturned and the stone presumably put to better use. One may compare with the circumstances pertaining to the rest of the monument of which the sculptures were a part.[12] The walls were taken down and the talatat and larger blocks used as filling in pylons and foundations for columns. Nonetheless a number of the blocks had been subject to interference. On some talatat the cartouches of Akhenaten as well as those of Nefertiti and the Aten were hacked out, but without determination. On larger blocks the names and representations of Akhenaten and some cartouches of Nefertiti had been meticulously removed. However, many larger blocks were left intact, like those reused in the Tenth Pylon, deriving from the temple of Ra-Harakhty, which were apparently not all attacked before being removed from view (one exception being a carefully hacked-out representation of the king).

A more detailed excavation report would have given us better clues as to what actually happened, and when. But the evidence suggests that the destruction of the colossi had different causes: 1) accidental damage when the colossi were handled during the dismantling of the temple; 2) damage incurred by dismembering of the colossi for reuse of larger pieces of stone; 3) deliberate disfigurement of eyes, noses, and uraei of a certain group of colossi.

Classification

In what follows, the fragments have been classified as below, but using consecutive numbers. The number of surviving colossi can only be estimated on the basis of the number of heads. Body parts and parts of crowns may have belonged with heads that have already received a number.

A–I: Heads, Some with Part of Body

A khat + double crown
B nemes + double crown
C khat or nemes + double crown
D nemes + plumes
E nemes + either double crown or plumes
F khat + either double crown or plumes
G khat or nemes + either double crown or plumes
H double crown alone
I no surviving crown

J–L: Crown Parts, Body Parts, Base

J parts of crowns
K body parts
L base

A: khat + double crown

A1

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 49529
Exhibition no. 6015
Present location: Egyptian Museum Cairo, room 3 ("pink room").
Measurements: H 239cm.
Colors: Traces of a painted collar (curved red line with blue above).[13]
Excavation report: none. The Journal d'Entrée, dated August 1926, says that the colossus was found in several parts. Chevrier 1926, p. 121, referring briefly to his predecessor's discovery, indicates that it was found in July 1925. His report concerning his first season from March to May 1926 says that the two "very large statues" had already been taken to Cairo.
Bibliography (select): De Wit 1950, pp. 22–23, figs. 6, 7, 14; Hornemann 1951, pl. 43; Porter and Moss 1972, p. 253; Aldred 1973, fig. 10 (including photograph of head shown separately as at the time of discovery); Lange and Hirmer 1978, pls. 180–81; Russman 1989, fig. 53 with close-up;[14] Arnold 1996, fig. 9; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 4; Hawass 2005, pp. 28–29 with fig.; Bongioanni, Croce, and Accomazzo 2001, p. 172; Partridge 2007, figs. 1, 1a.
Description: Head with khat and double crown (figs. 2.4, 2.5),[15] torso, and upper legs and knees. This is the most complete of all the colossi. The figure has been completely detached from its back pillar (cf. fig. 3.4).



Fig. 2.3 Side and front view of JE 49529 (A1).

There are tiny chisel marks on the right hip. Soon after its discovery it came to the museum in several fragments with JE 49828. It was one of the first two colossi found during excavations for the drainage canal in 1925.[16]

The king holds the *ḥḳ3t* scepter and flagellum and wears the royal kilt with an apron decorated with two uraei crowned with the sun-disk in the manner of the post-*ḥb-sd* representations of Amenhotep III.[17] The head of the uraeus is missing, and the colossus is broken off at the knee-caps. The left arm is missing from below the elbow to the shoulder. This colossus is otherwise the best preserved of all. The inscribed belt is slung



Fig. 2.4 Profile of head (A1) as first discovered.

below the upper edge of the kilt. The navel is exposed, showing the fan shape characteristic of many later representations of the royal family (cf. fig. 3.5). Above, a circular sunk point appears to indicate an earlier navel, which would later have been filled with plaster and painted over. The nipples are set high (the left slightly lower than the right) and are shaped like little raised disks. The collarbones are prominently marked. Three horizontal wrinkles appear below the chin, and the muscles on either side of the neck are emphasised by an S-shaped line.[18] The labio-nasal fold is indicated, and the ears are pierced.

Inscriptions: As on all the colossi with the torso intact, the body is adorned with the cartouches of the Aten on the upper and lower arms, on the upper chest on either side of the artificial beard, and on the torso below the rib cage. The cartouches invariably run as follows (cf. fig. 3.10):



Fig. 2.5a,b Chevrier's drawings (A1).

rʿ-ḥr3ḫty ḥʿy m 3ḫt m rn.f m šw nty m itn
'Ra-Harakhty rejoicing in the horizon in his name Shu who is (in) Aten.'

They are inscribed on an area raised about one to two centimeters from the surface of the body, not incised directly on the body as in later sculpture from Amarna.

The belt of the kilt carries an inscription in horizontal hieroglyphs, centering around the names and titles of the king inserted in a cartouche-shaped area (without the vertical bar at the end):

nṯr nfr (nfrḫprwrʿ wʿnrʿ) s3 rʿ mr.f (Imnḥtp [ḥḳ3 iwnw šmʿw]) ʿ3 m ʿḥʿw.f
'The dynamic god, Neferkheprura Waenra, son of Ra whom he loves, Amenhotep [ruler of Southern Heliopolis],[19] great in his life span.'

The lower half of the second cartouche has been (accidentally?) effaced or was never filled in. *imnḥtp* remains clear.

On either side of this, arranged symmetrically, are the two cartouches of the Aten repeated so as to make four on either side, filling in the space until it meets the back pillar. Two other torso fragments show identical inscriptions (K38 and K50).
Cf. also figs. 1.2, 3.4, 3.5

A2
Alexandria National Museum[20]
Measurements: None available.

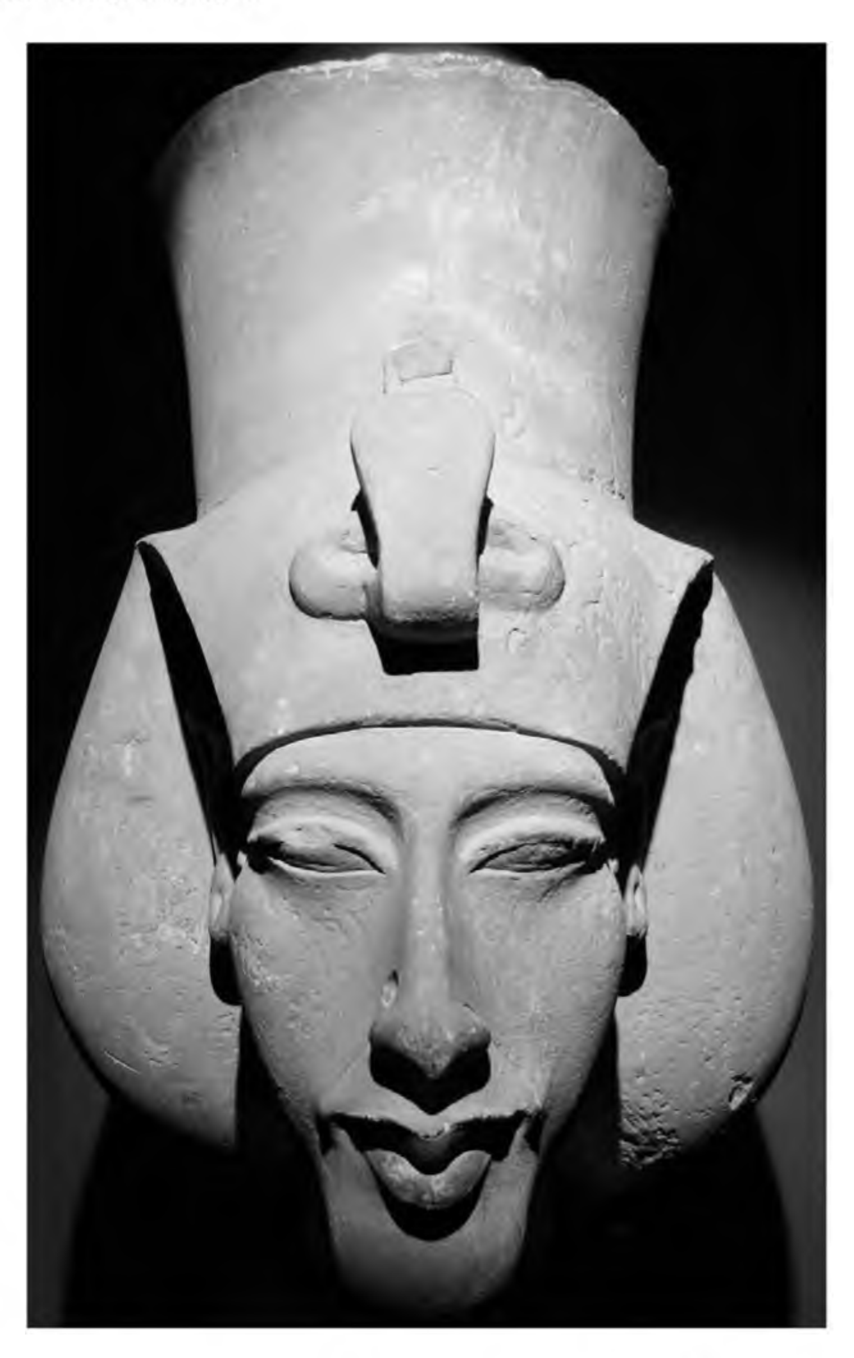


Fig. 2.6 Front view of the head (A2) in Alexandria.



Fig. 2.7 Profile (A2).

Bibliography:[21] Partridge 2007, fig. 2; *Papyrus* 27/2, 2007 cover (to Manniche 2007).
Colors: Traces of red sketch lines remain on the khat.
Description: Head of Akhenaten wearing khat and double crown. It is in a remarkably good state of preservation, with only the head of the uraeus missing. Part of the back pillar remains, as does the negative space where the beard once was. The head is displayed at a slight backward angle. The ears are pierced and the labio-nasal fold indicated.

Circular chisel marks remain on the left side of the white crown. These could have been made when the colossus was overturned and cut up for reuse. It is difficult to see any other reason. The lower edge of the eye shows a double line. Cf. also figs. 4.3, 4.6, 5.1.

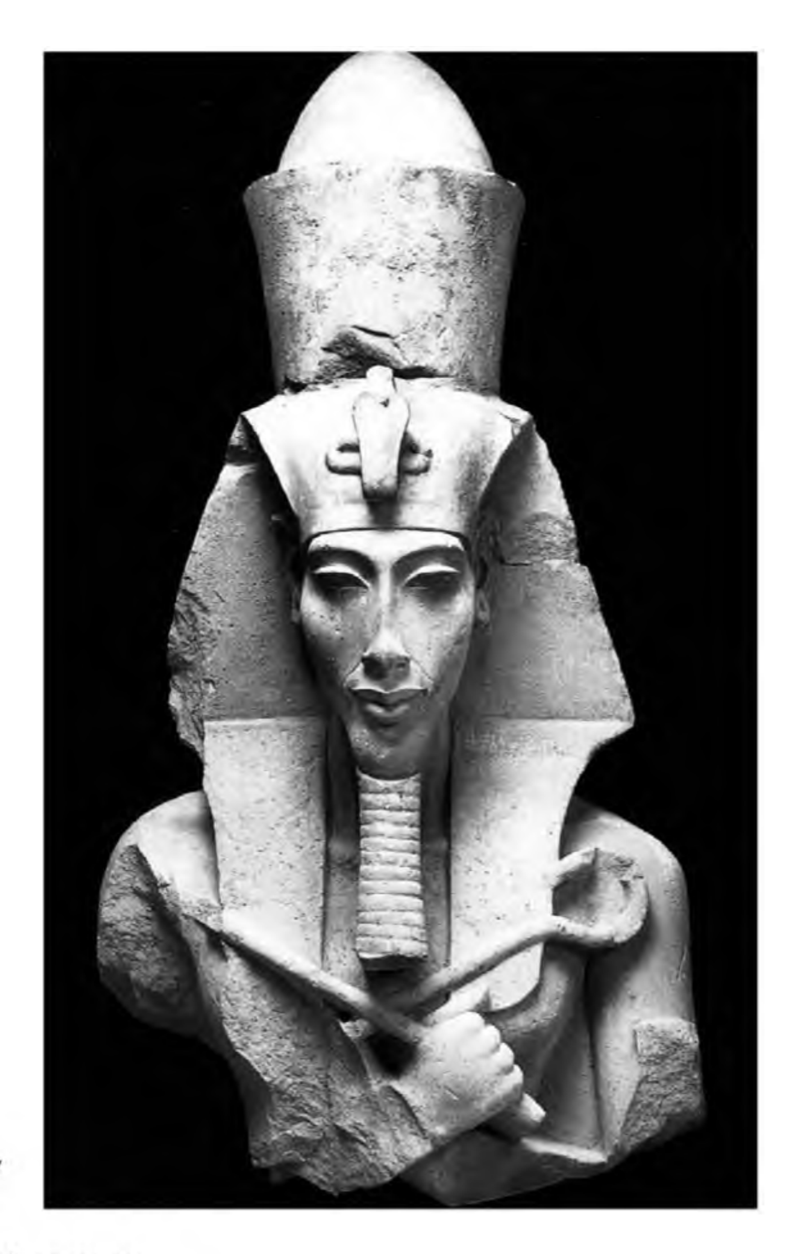


Fig. 2.8 Front view of JE 98915 (B3).

B: nemes + double crown

B3

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 98915
Temporary Register 18.3.58.3
Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, basement R42 (*sic* JE 24.1.98)
Measurements: H 205cm, W 11cm, D 60cm.
Colors: traces of color remain on the nemes (blue and yellow stripes), beard (blue), lips (red), eyes and brows (black).
Excavation report: As a drawing of what seems to be this head was included in Chevrier's report for 1926, it may be one of the four heads found on 4 April that year (Chevrier 1926, p. 122, fig. 1 (fig. 2.9 a,b)).

Exhibitions: "Pharaohs of the Sun," Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Leiden 1999–2000; "Tutankhamun and the World of the Pharaohs," Vienna 2008.[22] "Tutankhamun: The Golden King and the Great Pharaohs," Atlanta 2008–2009.

Bibliography: Freed 1999, pl. LVI and LVIIb; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999 (cat. no. 23), cf. fig. 31 (en face) and dustjacket (profile); Partridge 2007, fig. 7, 7a; Hawass 2008, pp. 144–45.

Description: Upper torso and head with nemes and double crown (fig. 2.8).[23] It may easily be confused with the following item (B4), as the appearance and state of preservation are rather similar. B3 has a completely preserved crown and a longer left upper arm.

B4

Egyptian Museum Cairo Temporary Register 29.5.49.1[24]

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, room 3 ("pink room").



Fig. 2.9a,b Chevrier's drawings (B4).

Measurements: H 153cm, W 106cm, D 72cm.
Excavation report: A photograph of this piece was included in Chevrier 1926 (pl. II) (fig. 2.11), and a number of heads are mentioned in the text (pp. 122 and 125), but without clarification. We can only deduce that it was among the first eleven colossus parts recovered (the first two of these having been found by Pillet). The old photograph shows a portion of the right elbow which is today no longer in place.
Exhibitions: "Toutankhamon et son temps," Paris 1967; "Règne du soleil," Brussels 1975; "Echnaton, Nofretete,Tutanchamun," Vienna 1975; "Solens Rike. Aknaton, Nefertiti, Tut-Ank-Amun," Oslo 1975; "Echnaton och Nefertiti," Stockholm 1975; "Nofretete. Echnaton," Munich 1976; "Nofretete. Echnaton," Berlin 1976; "Echnaton. Nofretete. Tutanchamun,"



Fig. 2.10 Front view of TR 29.5.49.1 (B4).



Fig. 2.11 Profile (B4) (Chevrier photograph).

Hildesheim 1976; "Akhenaten og Nefertiti," Denmark 1976–77; "Egyptian Civilization Exhibition," Japan 2000–2001.

Bibliography: Desroches Noblecourt 1967 (cat. no. 3); Porter and Moss 1972, pp. 253–54; Aldred 1973, fig. 12; Tefnin 1975 (cat. no. 11); Satzinger 1975 (cat. no. 11); Peterson 1975 (cat. no. 11); Helliesen 1975 (cat. no. 11); Müller and Settgast 1976 (cat. no. 9); Müller, Settgast, and Eggebrecht 1976 (cat. no. 9); *Louisiana Revy* 1976 (cat. no. 9); Partridge 2007, fig. 5; Tokyo National Museum 2000 (cat. no. 69).

Description: This fragment shows the upper torso and head with nemes and double crown (figs. 2.10, 2.11). In contrast to JE 98915, it has damage to its crown and left upper arm.

C: khat or nemes + double crown

C5

Luxor Museum inv. no. J53
Exhibition no. 156
Karakôl no. 45
Measurements: H 141cm, W 50.5cm, D 36.5cm.
Bibliography: De Wit 1950, pp. 24–25, fig. 7; Desroches Noblecourt 1974, fig. 19; Romano et al. 1979, cat. no. 156, pp. 113–15, figs. 87–88; Luxor Catalogue 1978, cat. no. 156, p. 65; Fagan 2001, p. 205; Reeves 2001, cover; Bongioanni 2004, p. 34; el-Shahawy 2009, pp. 168–71.
Description: Head with khat or nemes and double crown (figs. 2.12, 2.13). According to the museum catalog this was among the heads found by Chevrier in 1926, therefore presumably among those mentioned in Chevrier 1926, p. 122.



Fig. 2.12 Front view of J53 (C5).



Fig. 2.13 Profile of J53 (C5).



Fig. 2.14a JE 98895 front (C6).



Fig. 2.14b JE 98895 profile (C6).

C6

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 98895

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, basement SS42, W4.

Measurements: H 155cm, W 50cm, D 40cm.

Bibliography: Freed 1999 pl. LVII a (wrongly given as JE 98891).[25]

Description: Head wearing the double crown and uraeus positioned on either khat or nemes (figs. 2.14 a,b). The tip of the nose has been accidentally destroyed The lower edge of the eye shows a double line. Cf. also figs. 3.11, 4.4.

C7

Karakôl no. 336

Measurements: H 100cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Double crown with the remaining upper part of khat or nemes (fig. 2.15). The head of the uraeus is damaged, but its body is intact.



Fig. 2.15 Front view of Karakôl no. 336 (C7).



Fig. 2.16 Front view of JE 98894 (D8).

D: nemes + plumes

D8

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 98894[26]

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, basement SS 17 (*sic* JE 3.1.98, but this head is often traveling).

Measurements: H 154(148)cm, W 85(84)cm, D 60(55)cm.



Fig. 2.17 a,b
Chevrier's drawings with nemes lappets restored (D8).

Excavation report: Presumably Chevrier 1926, p. 126, fig. 3.
Before final restoration: Abd-ur-Rahman 1956, pl. I; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. on p. 10; Partridge 2007, p. 34, figs. 8, 8a, 8b.
Exhibitions: "Pharaohs of the Sun," Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Leiden 1999–2001; "Tutankhamon. The Golden Beyond," Basel 2004; "Tutankhamon and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs," London 2007–2008. "Tutankhamon and the Golden Age of the Pharaohs," San Francisco 2009–10.[27]
Bibliography: Freed 1999, pl. LVIIIb; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999 (cat. no. 22) with fig. 30; Wiese and Brodbeck 2004 (cat. no. 42); Hawass 2005, pp. 110–11.
Description: Head with nemes and plumes (figs. 2.16, 2.17 a,b).[28] It was assembled from several fragments (cf. fig. 2.2). Head of uraeus missing. The lappets of the nemes are broken off, but the drawing by Chevrier shows them as being plain, not with the wig-markings visible on the other

three similar heads. In his caption to his sketch, he says that the nemes was "completely smooth." The head was one of a group of nine found in April 1926. The face was stolen but quickly recovered (Chevrier 1927, p. 146).

Rita Freed observed that the upper extremity of the plumes was shaved as if to allow for emplacement under a roof which was slightly too low for the statue.[29] Cf. also figs. 3.2, 3.9.

D9

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 49528
Exhibition no. 6016
Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, room 3 ("pink room").
Measurements: H 185cm.
Excavation report: This head was one of the two found by Pillet in 1925 (cf. our A1), but no excavation report was published. It was briefly mentioned by Chevrier 1926, p. 121. In describing the plumed headdress (p. 125) he says, "it is the base of these plumes which were visible on one of the statues discovered last year." This head came to the museum with JE 49529. In the report the two are not distinguished so that it is impossible to determine which one was found first as well as the relative positions of the two fragments originally.

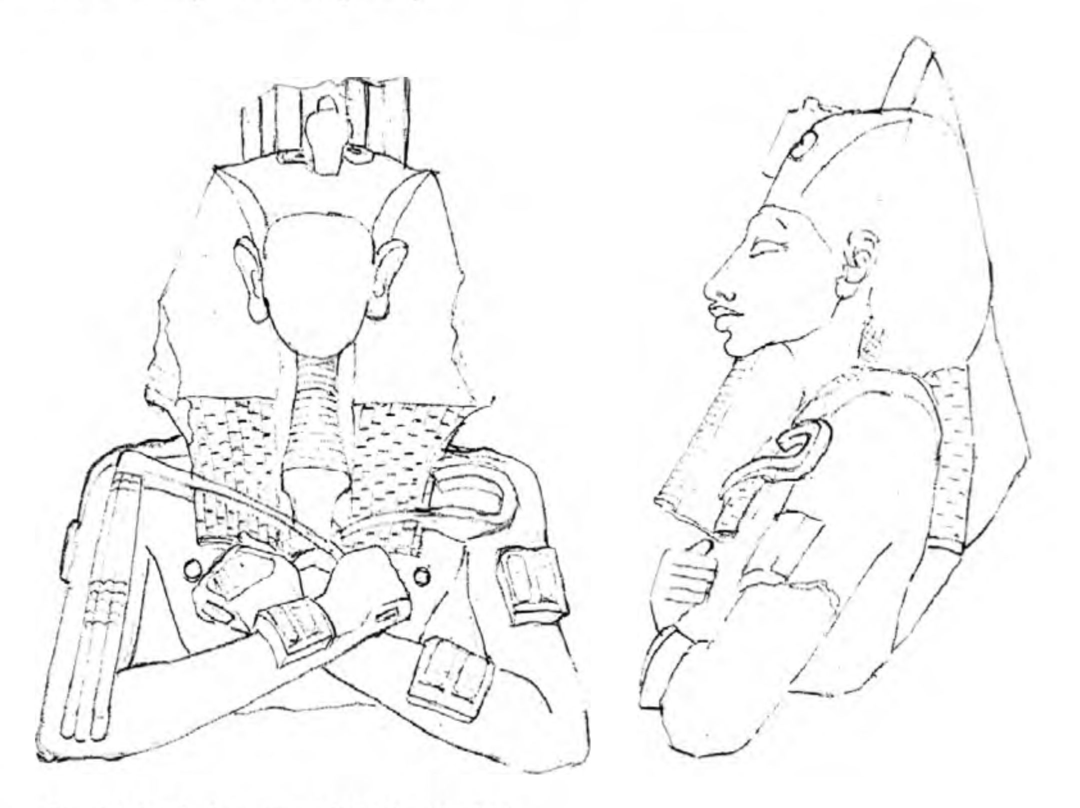


Fig. 2.18 a,b Drawing of JE 49529 (D9).



Fig. 2.19a,b Chevrier's drawings (D9).

Bibliography (select): De Wit 1950, pp. 24–25, fig. 10; Hornemann 1951, pl. 44; Porter and Moss 1972, p. 253; Lange and Hirmer 1978, pl. 182; Bongioanni, Croce, and Accomazzo 2001, pp. 172–73; Partridge 2007, fig. 4.

Description: Head with nemes and four plumes and upper torso,[30] the distinguishing feature being the squared-off (instead of rounded), wig-like lappets and tail of the nemes headdress (figs. 2.18 a,b, 2.19 a,b). This can be seen on JE 99065 (D10) as well. An approximate parallel to such a headdress is the outer coffin of Tutankhamun: a headdress shaped like the nemes but with vertical instead of horizontal markings, and with squared-off lappets decorated with "curls" (cf. Chapter 3).[31] Cf. also figs. 3.9, 4.7.

D10

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 99065

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo "R14—N8—Box"[32]

Measurements: H 194cm, W 114cm, D 80cm.

Excavation report: Chevrier 1927, p. 147 reports finding, in November 1926, "une tête coiffée du claft surmonté de l'amorce des plumes," i.e.,

nemes and plumes, near his pillar 'I.' This may refer to this one—D8 and D9 having already been included in the report of work in the spring of that year.

Bibliography: Dodson and Hilton 2004, fig. p. 147; Partridge 2007, figs. 9, 9a; Abd-ur Rahman 1956, pp. 247–49 mentions a total of four heads with feathers (one erroneously quoted as JE 49529 instead of 49528).

Description: Head with nemes with wig-like lappets and plumes, assembled from several pieces (figs. 2.20, 2.21). There are remains of stripes on the nemes, and the lower edge of the eye shows a double line.

Cf. also figs. 1.4, 4.1, 4.5.



Fig. 2.20 Front view of JE 99065 (D10). Fig. 2.21 Profile of JE 99065 (D10).



Fig. 2.22 Front view of Karakôl no. 42 (D11).



Fig. 2.23 Profile (D11).

D11

Karakôl no. 42

Measurements: H 76cm, W 30cm.

Bibliography: None. Photographs (1975) and information from the CFEETK archives.

Description: Head with khat or nemes and uraeus (fig. 2.22). The part projecting above the uraeus whose head is intact is no doubt the lower part of plumes.

E: nemes + double crown or plumes

E12

Luxor Museum

Karakôl no. 47

Present location: Luxor Museum, permanent display.

Measurements: None available.

Excavation report: Chevrier 1927, p. 145 with fig. 5 (our fig. 2.26 a,b). This large piece was found in November 1926 next to Chevrier's pillar D.[33]



Fig. 2.24 Front view of head and torso in Luxor Museum (E12).



Fig. 2.25 Profile (E12).

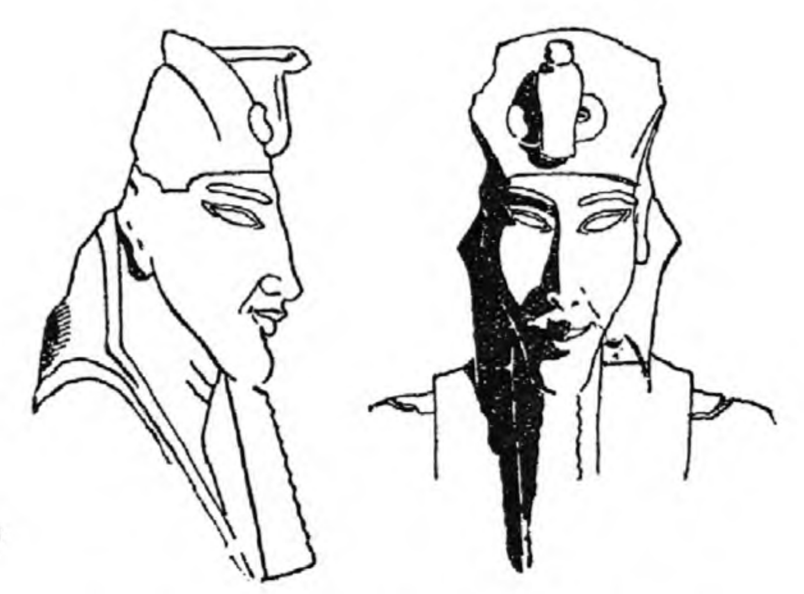


Fig. 2.26 a,b Chevrier's drawings of E12.

It appears in the old excavation photograph, raised upright to the left of the larger, headless colossus (cf. fig. 1.6). A rare rear view is available in another old photograph published in Amadio 2006 (fig. 1.7). It can also be seen in a photograph taken in the Karakôl on 9 November 1970 (fig. 1.10).

Bibliography: Desroches Noblecourt 1974, figs. 20 and 23; Lauffray 1979, pp. 160–61; el-Shahawy 2005, pp. 128–29; Partridge 2007, fig. 10; Manniche 2007, fig. 5; el-Shahawy 2009, pp. 178–80.

Description: Upper torso and head with nemes and double crown. The nemes has been carefully trimmed, leaving a precise outline and smooth surface. For the possible purpose of this, cf. below, Chapter 3, p. 00 The colossus has only been on display in the galleries of the museum since about 2004.

Cf. also fig. 3.6.

F: khat + double crown or plumes

F13

Karakôl, no number

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. The head was noted at the edge of a photograph in the CFEETK showing our H19.

Description: Head of a colossus wearing the khat. As the top part is outside the photograph it is impossible to say whether it was crowned by the double crown or plumes.[34] The face is badly damaged, possibly accidentally.[35]



Fig. 2.27 Head in the Karakôl (F13).



Fig. 2.28 Front view of J55 (G14).



Fig. 2.29 Profile (G14).

G: khat or nemes + double crown or plumes

G14

Luxor Museum inv. no. J55
Karakôl no. 48
Exhibition no. 171
Measurements: H 64.5cm, W 31.5cm, D 48.5cm.
Excavation report: Chevrier 1927, pl. III, 1, but this illustration is not linked to a particular head mentioned in the text, except for a reference to its temporary disappearance (see below). Cf. excavation photograph, Chevrier 1927, pl. IV (fig. 1.6). Photographs from the CFEETK archives.
Bibliography: De Wit 1950, pp. 24–25, fig. 8; Luxor Catalogue 1978, cat. no. 171, p. 69; Romano et al. 1979, cat. 171, pp. 120–21, figs. 93–94; Aldred 1988/1991, cover; Partridge 2007, fig. 6; Siliotti 2008, p. 150.
Description: Head with khat or nemes (figs. 2.28, 2.29). When originally discovered the head of the uraeus was intact. This is no longer the case.

Soon after being excavated the head was stolen but quickly recovered and, interestingly, "united with its body" (Chevrier 1927, p. 146). We are perhaps to interpret this remark as meaning that this head belonged with the torso shown in Chevrier's pl. IV, our K38 (fig. 2.63, cf. our fig. 1.6), the number of available bodies or torsos being extremely limited. In that case the headdress must be a khat, not a nemes, as no lappets are visible on the said torso.

G15

Luxor Museum inv. no. J46
Karakôl no. 46
Measurements: H 63(64.5)cm.
Excavation report: The head was included in Chevrier 1927, pl. III (2), but this illustration is not linked to a particular head mentioned in the text.



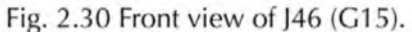


Fig. 2.30 Front view of J46 (G15).



Fig. 2.31 Profile (G15).

Exhibitions: "Règne du soleil," Brussels 1975; "Echnaton, Nofretete, Tutanchamun," Vienna 1975; "Solens Rike. Aknaton, Nefertiti, Tut-Ank-Amon," Oslo 1975; "Echnaton och Nefertiti," Stockholm 1975; "Nofretete. Echnaton," Munich 1976; "Nofretete. Echnaton," Berlin 1976; "Echnaton. Nofretete. Tutanchamun," Hildesheim 1976; "Akhenaton og Nefertiti," Denmark 1976–77.
Bibliography: Tefnin 1975 (cat. no. 10); Satzinger 1975 (cat. no. 10); Peterson 1975 (cat. no. 10); Helliesen 1975 (cat. no. 10); Müller and Settgast 1976 (cat. no. 8); *Louisiana Revy* 1976 (cat. no. 8).
Description: Head of king wearing nemes or khat (figs. 2.23, 2.31). The uraeus is severely damaged and appears to have been repaired anciently. The lower edge of the eye shows a double line.



Fig. 2.32 Front view of Karakôl no. 333 (G16).

G16

Karakôl no. 333

Measurements: H 60cm, W 42cm.

Bibliography: None. Photograph (1975) and information from the archives of the CFEETK.

Description: Head, probably wearing khat or nemes (fig. 2.32). The uraeus and surrounding area is severely damaged, and there is surface wear(?) to the right cheek. There is additional damage to the eyes, nose, and mouth as in the series described below (H19–26, I28–30). As these heads may have represented Nefertiti, the similar defacement may be an indication that G16, too, was taken to be the queen. At Amarna, she is often shown wearing a khat.

G17

Karakôl no. 54

Bibliography: None. Information and sketch from the CFEETK.

Description: Head of colossus wearing khat or nemes and an intact uraeus (fig. 2.33).



Fig. 2.33 Sketch of Karakôl no. 54 (G17).



Fig. 2.34 Sketch of Karakôl no. 55 (G18).

G18

Karakôl no. 55

Bibliography: None. Information and sketch from the CFEETK.

Description: Head of colossus wearing khat or nemes (fig. 2.34). The head of the uraeus has disappeared.

H: Double crown only[36]

H19

Karakôl no. 56

Measurements: H 120cm, W 55cm.

Excavation report: This could be the first head discovered by Chevrier on 4 April 1926: "elle est légèrement abimée au nez; elle est coiffée du *pschent* complet," as it is one of the few heads of this type with an intact double crown. But in addition to damage to the nose, the uraeus and the left eye have also suffered.



Fig. 2.35 Front view of Karakôl no. 56 (H19).

Bibliography: ?Chevrier 1926, p. 122, cf. p. 125; Desroches Noblecourt 1974, fig. 33.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (fig. 2.35). This is the most complete head of this type. In Desroches Noblecourt 1974 the illustration sits as a tailpiece at the very end of the article, without being integrated into it, and with the following caption: "Head with pschent, intentionally disfigured, having no doubt belonged to a sexless colossus of IV in the great Aten temple at Karnak East." This is the only mention of the possibility of the existence of another 'sexless' colossus. For a discussion of these colossi see Chapter 3, pages 95–97. This argument would apply also to other heads with similar headdress, i.e., our H20–27.

H20

Karakôl no. 277

Measurements: H 115cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (fig. 2.36). The mouth and chin are missing, and there is damage to the eyes and the uraeus.

H21

Karakôl no. 278

Measurements: H 110cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (fig. 2.37). The mouth and chin are missing, and there is damage to the nose, eyes, and uraeus. In addition, a horizontal, clearly defined area has been hacked out above the red crown, narrowing toward one side.



Fig. 2.36 Front view of Karakôl no. 277 (H20).



Fig. 2.37 Front view of Karakôl no. 278 (H21).

H22

Karakôl no. 59

Measurements: H 80cm, W 35cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photos (1972, 1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (figs. 2.38, 2.39). The nose and lower face have been deliberately hacked off, only the corners of the mouth remaining, and there is some damage to the eyes (cf. fig. 2.1). The lower edge of the eye shows a double line.



Fig. 2.38 Front view of Karakôl no. 59 (H22).



Fig. 2.39 Detail of face in profile (H22).

H23

Karakôl no. 276

Measurements: H 145cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photographs (1972, 1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (fig. 2.40). The nose, mouth, and chin have been hacked off. There is some damage to the eyes. A square cavity at the level of the head of the uraeus suggests ancient repair.



Fig. 2.40 Front view of Karakôl no. 276 (H23).

H24

Karakôl no. 334

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1975) from the CFEETK.

Description: Head wearing the double crown (fig. 2.41). The face has been more or less carefully cut out. All except one (apparently) of the heads in this group (H27) having been mutilated, it may be that this head was subject to similar treatment before the face was then completely removed. It remains a possibility that one of the 'masks' (I28–30) belongs to this head. A rectangular hole behind the uraeus, which has now largely disappeared, suggests ancient repair.



Fig. 2.41 Front view of Karakôl no. 334 (H24).

H25

Karakôl no. 49

Measurements: H 110cm, W 30cm (see below).

Bibliography: None. The head appears on the ground in the excavation photograph in Chevrier 1927, pl. IV (our fig. 1.6).

Description: Head wearing the double crown of which the lower part only survives (figs. 2.42, 2.43 a,b, 2.44). The nose and chin are broken off and there is damage to the lips and eyes. There remains a section of the 'negative space' between the beard and throat. This head is elusive, as it was apparently not photographed in the Karakôl. A head drawn by Chevrier and published in Chevrier 1927, fig. 6 is equally difficult to identify. The photograph, however, shows a damaged nose. It is possible that Chevrier's drawing was done from the head lying on the ground, but with its nose restored.

A card in the archives of the CFEETK suggests a solution. A sketch of a head said to be "in Luxor" has the following caption: "Voir photo fouilles (sans barbe)." Here the head has Karakôl no. 49. The beard may have joined the head after Chevrier had his old photograph taken and before he made his drawing (or he omitted it for other reasons). The measurements for the head in the sketch are given as 110cm x 30cm. The break in the top right corner of the crown is identical in Chevrier's drawing and the sketch on the card. The same section appears to be missing on the head in the old photograph.



Fig. 2.42 Head (H25) as positioned by Chevrier.



Fig. 2.43 a,b Chevrier's drawing of H25.

Fig. 2.44 Sketch of H25 with beard.

H26

Egyptian Museum Cairo JE 55938
Exhibition no. 6182

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, room 3 ("pink room").

Measurements: H 295cm.

Excavation record: Chevrier 1931, p. 97, pl. IV, cf. Chevrier 1930, p. 169.[37] This concerns the season 1929–30, when Chevrier was excavating the southwestern corner of the temple moving from south to north. This colossus was found with the head detached near three(?) more or less destroyed heads.[38] The torso was lying face down, whereas the head was in the correct position vis-à-vis the body, but facing upward.

Bibliography (select): Hornemann 1951, pl. 45; Porter and Moss 1972, p. 253; De Wit 1950, pp. 24–25, fig. 9; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 5; Partridge 2007, fig. 12.



Fig. 2.45 Front view of JE 55938 (H26).



Fig. 2.46 Profile (H26).

Description: Colossus broken away at the knees and with damage to the crown, eyes, nose, and lips; otherwise fairly intact (figs. 2.45, 2.46, 2.47).[39] There are tiny chisel marks on the inside right thigh and on the right buttock.

Similar chisel marks can be seen on JE 49529 (A1). The figure is either naked or wears a tight-fitting garment. The circular navel is visible and has not been altered to a fan-shaped one, but the nipples are not. It was originally provided with a royal beard. Two deep cavities suggest that this beard was fitted when the statue was completed, either because of an accident during the execution of the statue or as part of a change in design: remaining 'negative space' at the front of the neck would suggest the former. Part of the back pillar remains, running from the base to the crown. For a discussion, see Chapter 3, pages 93–96. Cf. also fig. 3.3.



Fig. 2.47 Chisel marks.



Fig. 2.48a Front view of the colossus in the Louvre (H27). © 2005 Musée du Louvre/ Christian Larrieu.



Fig. 2.48b Profile view of the colossus in the Louvre (H27). © 2005 Musée du Louvre/Christian Larrieu.

H27

Musée du Louvre inv. no. E. 27112
Karakôl no. 43

Measurements: H 137cm, W 88cm.

Bibliography: Desroches Noblecourt 1972; Desroches Noblecourt 1974; Lauffray 1979, pp. 160–61; Ziegler 1993, p. 50; Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, p. 134; Barbotin 1997, pp. 142–43; Partridge 2007, fig. 11.

Description: Fragment of the upper torso and head with, apparently, the lower part of a double crown (figs. 2.48 a,b). The lower edge of the eye shows a double line. The head was reunited with the body when it was discovered. When it came to the Louvre "the two shoulders were no longer in place, nor was the right elbow."[40] However, the archives of the CFEETK show that even more pieces were supposed to have belonged to this particular colossus: 1) upper part of right arm with part of the flagellum; 2) left elbow with cartouches; 3) an almost intact double crown (figs. 2.49 a,b, figs. 2.50 a–c).[41] All of these, photographed in 1972, were sent to the Egyptian

Figs. 2.49 a,b Body fragments allegedly belonging to the Louvre colossus (H27) (not to scale).



Figs. 2.50 a,b,c Crown seen from front, rear, and side.

Museum in Cairo. The crown may be repositioned on the head, and the two arm fragments would also appear to fit, as in the computer reconstruction shown (fig. 2.51).

On the CFEETK cards two more fragments are said to belong to this colossus: a fragment with cartouches from the abdomen and edge of a right arm; and a fragment of a crown. As these two pieces do not fit easily onto the remaining parts, they have been moved to separate sections (J36 and K46).

In spite of the fact that this colossus is the one that has been subject to the closest scrutiny of all, an important point remains. The double crown sitting directly on the head would link the Louvre colossus to H19–26. But the faces of these had been deliberately disfigured, whereas that of the Louvre colossus is beautifully intact. It has previously been taken to represent Nefertiti (see Chapter 3, pages 93–95).[42] Cf. also fig. 3.1.



Fig. 2.51 Computer reconstruction of the Louvre colossus.





Figs. 2.52 a,b Photograph and sketch of Karakôl no. 52 (I28).

I: No Surviving Crown

I28

Karakôl no. 52

Measurements: H 52cm, W 35cm.

Bibliography: None. The information available for this fragment is to be found on a photograph otherwise showing torso Karakôl no. 50 at the CFEETK (K38 below), taken in 1970, with number and dimensions penciled in and a scribbled note saying "see excavation photograph." It is indeed visible in the shadow of the torso in Chevrier 1927, pl. II (cf. fig. 1.5).

Description: Face ('mask') of a colossus with damage to eyes and nose (figs. 2.52 a,b); cf. our G16, H19–27, and I29–30.

I29

Karakôl no. 39

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. The only information available for this fragment is an anonymous sketch included on a card in the CFEETK archives. It has a separate Karakôl number and is thus not identical with any of the previous or following entries.

Description: Lower face of a colossus, showing a damaged nose and intact lips and jaw (fig. 2.53). A small section of the beard remains. According to the CFEETK card it should be visible on the "exacavation photograph," but this is not immediately obvious. For the damage, cf. our G16, H19–27, I28, I30.

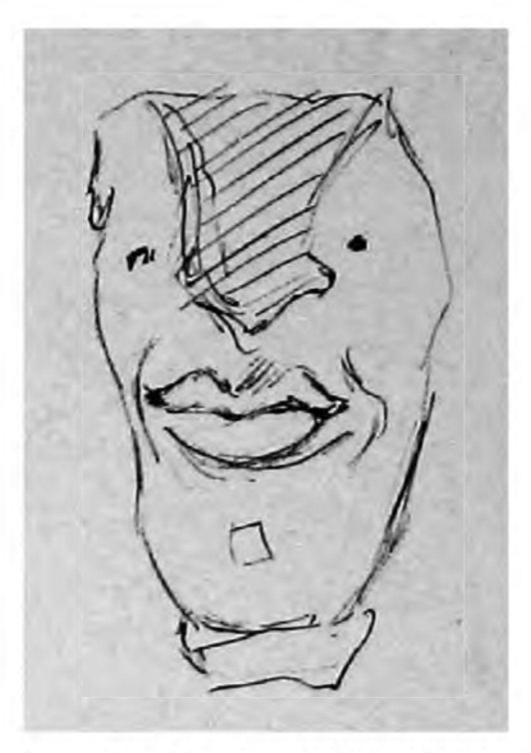


Fig. 2.53 Sketch of Karakôl no. 39 (I29).



Fig. 2.54 Sketch of Karakôl no. 58 (I30).

I30

Karakôl no. 58

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. The only information available for this fragment is an anonymous sketch included on a card in the CFEETK archives. It has a separate Karakôl number and is thus not identical with any of the previous or following entries.

Description: Face of colossus, nose, eyes, and chin damaged, lips fairly intact (fig. 2.54); cf. G 16, H19–27, I28–29.

I31

Karakôl no. 57

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. The information available for this fragment is an anonymous sketch included on a card in the CFEETK archives. It has a separate Karakôl number and is thus not identical with any of the previous or following entries. In addition, the head is visible in the photograph of the interior of the Karakôl, taken in 1970, with numbers penciled in (fig. 1.11).

Description: Intact face of colossus with slight traces of headdress (figs. 2.55, 2.56).



Fig. 2.55 Sketch of Karakôl no. 57 (I31).

Fig. 2.56 Photograph (I31).

I32

Karakôl no. 51

Measurements: None available.

Bibliography: None. The only information available for this fragment is an anonymous sketch included on a card in the CFEETK archives. It has a separate Karakôl number and is thus not identical with any of the previous or following entries.

Description: Intact face of colossus (fig. 2.57).



Fig. 2.57 Sketch of Karakôl no. 51 (I32).



Fig. 2.58 Fragment in Cambridge (I33).

I33

Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.GA 4516.1943
Measurements: H 29cm.
Bibliography: Manniche 2007, fig. 11.
Description: Lower half of face, nose destroyed, but lips and chin intact. No trace of a beard. The fragment was formerly in the collections of R. Gayer Anderson and came to the Fitzwilliam Museum in 1943 with many other items from this collection.[43]

I34

Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München inv. no. ÄS 6290
Measurements: H 32.2cm, W 18.8cm, D 23cm.
Exhibitions: "Queen Nefertiti and the Royal Women: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt," New York 1996–97; "Pharaohs of the Sun," Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago, Leiden 1999–2001.
Bibliography: Schoske 1993, p. 32, no. 27; Schoske 1995, p. 6, fig. 1; Arnold 1996, cat. no. 29, p. 133, fig. 1; Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, cat. no. 24.



Fig. 2.59 Fragment in Munich (I34).

Description: Lower half of face, nose, lips, and chin intact (fig. 2.59). No trace of a beard. Chevrier 1932, p. 112 mentions finding the "nose and mouth" of a colossus at the eastern part of the temple. In Chevrier 1936, p. 142 there is mention of another "nose and mouth" found on 30 January 1936. This could be either the Cambridge or the Munich fragment. The piece was acquired on the European art market in 1978.[44]

J: Parts of Crowns

J35

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Part of a headdress with uraeus (fig. 2.60). As the latter sits low, just above the horizontal brow line, it is probably the lower part of a double crown.



Fig. 2.60 Crown fragment (J35).

Fig. 2.61 Crown fragment (J36).

J36

Formerly Karakôl, said to belong to no. 43, now in the Louvre. "Sent to Cairo."

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph from the CFEETK.

Description: Part of a crown(?) (fig. 2.61). It was not possible to relate it to the colossus in the Louvre; see above under H27.

J37

Location: formerly Karakôl.

Bibliography: None. The fragment is visible on a photograph in the CFEETK (cf. fig. 1.10).

Description: Large fragment of the lower part of a double crown (fig. 2.62). The uraeus no longer survives. This may be the fragment visible on the site photograph fig. 1.5, between the two upright figures.



Fig. 2.62 Crown fragment (J37).

K: Body parts

K38

Karakôl no. 50

Measurements: H 200cm, W 110cm.

Excavation report: Near pillar 'D,' where the Luxor Museum torso with head E13 was found on or soon after 23 November 1926. Chevrier 1927, p. 145 describes among the finds "a body cut at the belt and throat." It must be this one, shown next to E13 in the old photograph of the excavation (Chevrier 1927, pl. IV, cf. fig. 1.5). A fragment holding scepters can be seen in front of the statue. A rare rear view, showing the scar left by the back pillar being chopped off, is available in another old photograph published in *Pharaon Magazine* vol. 2, no. 2, February 2006, p. 82 (cf. fig. 1.7).

Bibliography: Desroches Noblecourt 1974, fig. 26; photograph while on the ground in Karnak, at a slightly different angle from the one mentioned above in Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 34 (given as 1925 instead of 1926).

Description: Torso with Aten cartouches (right elbow missing) (fig. 2.63). The inscription on the belt appears to be identical to that of our no. A1. The navel has been corrected from circular to fan-shaped, but in virtually the same position. As no lappets are visible on the body, the head belonging

to this torso must have worn either the double crown or khat + double crown. In addition to the name of the Aten, the inscription on the belt mentions the king's names, and it is therefore unlikely that it should belong with one of the heads wearing the double crown only (see pages 93–96 for the argumentation). The total impression of the colossus would thus be very similar to our A1. Among the surviving heads, G14–15 and F13 would be candidates, preferably G14, found at the same time (Chevrier 1927, p. 145: "two heads one on top of the other, one of which belongs to the body mentioned previously") and of which we are told that after its temporary disappearance it was united with its body (p. 146).



Fig. 2.63 Torso Karakôl no. 50 (K38).



Fig. 2.64 Karakôl no. 53 (K39).

K39

Karakôl no. 53

Present location: Sheikh Labib.

Measurements: H 105cm, W 100cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1972, 1975) from the archives of the CFEETK.

Description: Upper torso with Aten cartouches (shoulders and arms) (fig. 2.64). The right arm is now detached, having previously been secured with a modern metal rod (cf. fig. 4.2). The left elbow is no longer with the rest, nor does it appear to be stored on the shelves (cf. the fragments described below). The back of the right hand has been sliced off. As no lappets are visible on the body, the head belonging to this torso would have worn either the double crown, or khat + double crown (cf. K38, although the belt with inscription is no longer extant). Cf. also fig. 4.2.



Fig. 2.65 Karakôl no. 44 (K40).

K40

Karakôl no. 44

Measurements: H 86cm, W 88cm.

Bibliography: None. Information and photograph (1975) from CFEETK archives.

Description: Upper torso with Aten cartouches and intact beard (fig. 2.65). The left elbow is missing, and there are chisel marks on the flail. As no nemes lappets are visible, the head belonging to this torso would have worn either the double crown or khat + double crown (cf. K38, although the belt with inscription is no longer extant).

K41

Present location: Sheikh Labib.

Bibliography: None.

Description: Fragment with arms with scepters crossed over chest and Aten cartouches (fig. 2.66).

Fig. 2.66 Body fragment (K41).

Fig. 2.67. Body fragment (K42).

K42

Present location: Sheikh Labib.

Bibliography: None.

Description: Fragment with arms crossed over chest (fig. 2.67).

K43

Karakôl (no number)

Bibliography: None. Photograph (1975) from the archives of the CFEETK.

Description: Right arm with flail and cartouches and left hand with part of cartouches (fig. 2.68).



Fig. 2.68 Body fragment (K43).



Fig. 2.69 Body fragment (K44).

K44

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Fragment of right arm and flail (fig. 2.69).

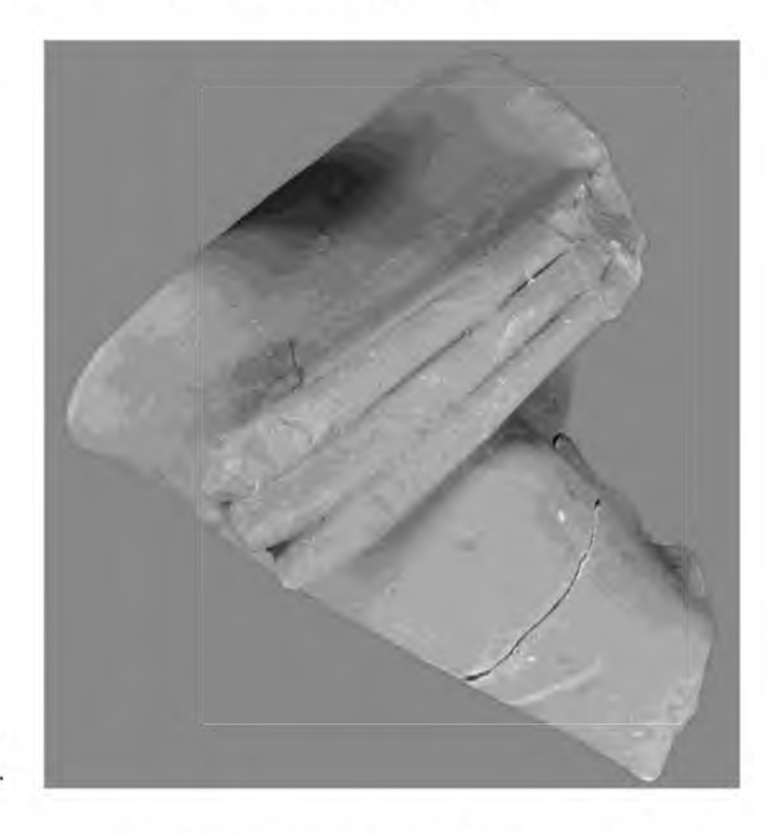


Fig. 2.70 Body fragment (K45).

K45

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Fragment of right elbow and flail (fig. 2.70).

K46

Formerly Karakôl, said to belong to no. 43, now in the Louvre. "Sent to Cairo."
Bibliography: None. Information and photograph from the CFEETK.
Description: Pair of Aten cartouches and part of a right, lower arm(?) (fig. 2.71). It was not possible to relate it to the colossus in the Louvre; see above under H27. The cartouches must have been positioned on the torso of a colossus, below the crossed arms.



Fig. 2.71 Body fragment (K46).

Fig. 2.72 Body fragment (K47).

K47

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Left elbow (fig. 2.72).



Fig. 2.73 Body fragment (K48).

K48
Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Left lower arm with Aten cartouches (fig. 2.73).



Fig. 2.74 Body fragment (K49).

K49
Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Left elbow with Aten cartouches (fig. 2.74).



Fig. 2.75 Torso (K50).

K50

Karakôl (no number)

Bibliography: Desroches Noblecourt 1974, fig. 12. Photograph (1972) from the archives of the CFEETK.

Description: Torso (belly and upper part of kilt) with Aten cartouches (fig. 2.75). The navel has been altered from round to a lower position and fan shape. The king's name and titles are as on A1 but with the name Amenhotep apparently intact. Because of its inscription designating Akhenaten as the person represented, this torso probably had a head crowned by a khat or nemes + double crown or plumes.

K51

Present location: Sheikh Labib.

Bibliography: None.

Description: Part of the royal kilt (fig. 2.76).

A second fragment of apron and kilt (inv. no. EK002) was recently found by E. Brock.[45]



Fig. 2.76. Body fragment (K51).



Fig. 2.77 Fragment with cartouches (K52).

K52

Present location: Sheikh Labib.

Bibliography: None.

Description: Pair of cartouches of the Aten from a right upper arm (fig. 2.77).



Fig. 2.78 Fragment with cartouches (K53).

K53

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Pair of cartouches of the Aten from a right lower arm (fig. 2.78).

K54

Present location: Sheikh Labib[46]
Bibliography: None.
Description: Part of the second cartouche of the Aten from a right lower arm (fig. 2.79). The fragment was found during recent excavations at East Karnak by E. Brock.



Fig. 2.79 Fragment with cartouches (K54).

K55

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Toes of a right foot with a small part of its base (fig. 2.80). Although very small, this fragment is of interest as it is one of the few examples of the lower extremities of the colossi (cf. K56a–c, K58, L59). There seems to be no exaggeration of the bone structure; the person was barefoot.[47]

Fig. 2.80 Fragment with toes (K55).



Fig. 2.81a–c Fragments of kneecaps (K56a–c).

K56a–c

Present location: Sheikh Labib.
Bibliography: None.
Description: Three kneecaps found during recent excavations at East Karnak by E. Brock (figs. 2.81 a–c). These kneecaps are of particular interest as no complete kneecaps survive on any of the large fragments of colossi. On A1 only part of the kneecaps survives and on H26 only the upper half.

K57a–g

Present location: Sheikh Labib. 58 a and g found by E. Brock.
Bibliography: None.
Description: More or less complete artificial beards with their supporting



Fig. 2.82a–g Fragments of beards (K57a–g).



Fig. 2.83 Section of beard

'negative space' behind (figs. 2.82 a–g, 2.83). The beard is the straight, squared-off beard of the living pharaoh. Its upper edge is slightly U-shaped to match the shape of the royal chin, as opposed to conventional beards, which are horizontal. The beard projects from the neck at a slightly larger angle than usual for Osirid pillars. Some colossi were found with their beards still attached or easily located (A1, B3, B4, D9, H27, K40). Where beards have become separated, the remaining negative space reveals their existence. In one case (H26) it appears to have been affixed artificially, rather than having been carved from the block of stone. A horizontal section of these beards shows them to be triangular.

K58

Egyptian Museum, Cairo

Present location: Egyptian Museum, Cairo, room 3 ("pink room").

Measurements: H 95cm, W 52cm.

Bibliography: Hornemann 1951, pl. 44.

Description: Said to belong to D9 is a fragment of legs with no separate JE number (figs. 2.84, 2.85, 2.86).[48] As the only substantial, accessible part of the lower half of any colossus, this fragment would be potentially of paramount importance. It shows two legs from knees to ankles. A vertical furrow runs along the right leg, and traces of a similar but shallow line remain along the left leg. Seen from the front, an animal's tail is visible between the legs. In shape it is unlike the usual bull's tail, but reminiscent of the tail of a colossus of Amenhotep III in the court of the Ninth Pylon. The right side of the fragment bears an inscription. The color of the sandstone would match that of D9. The attribution to D9 stems from information in the JE, based on archival information: "dossier 5.2/36, Août 1925," hence it must have been supplied by Pillet when the first two colossi were sent to Cairo a month after their discovery in the drainage ditch. Even if found in the same spot, there is no proof that they originally belonged together. Many other body parts from separate



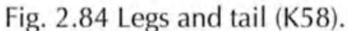


Fig. 2.84 Legs and tail (K58).



Fig. 2.85 Profile of legs and back pillar showing hieroglyphs (K58).

series of sculptures have been found on the site.[49] None of the other colossus fragments has the remains of an inscribed back pillar, the small section on the 'sexless' colossus being uninscribed. There is thus no other certain evidence for an inscribed back pillar among the colossi.

If, as an experiment, the legs were added to A1, this would bring the total height of the colossus to 334cm, to which should be added the tip of the white crown and the feet, giving a total of approximately 4m.

Inscription: The right side of the fragment preserves part of the back pillar with a vertical line of hieroglyphs, written right to left, filling the space between the pillar and the calf. It provides the final part of the name of the Aten, directly followed by the first cartouche of the king:

. . . *nty m itn nfrḫprwrꜥ wꜥnrꜥ*

Following this first royal cartouche where one would expect the second royal cartouche, preceded by a title, is what appears to be the hieroglyph *ḳ* and the upper part of two other hieroglyphs. This is highly unusual. The absence of any title before the king's prenomen is equally unprecedented.

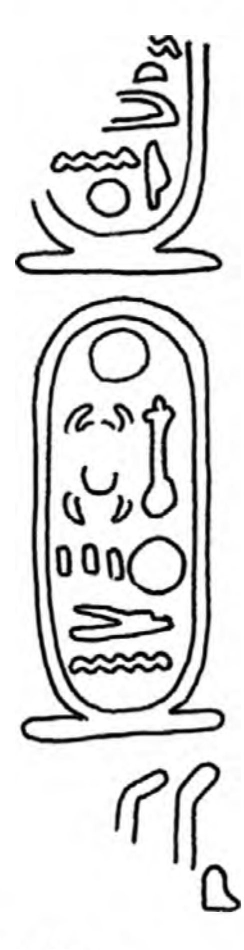


Fig. 2.86 Facsimile drawing of the inscription (K58).

L: Base

L59

Egyptian Museum, Cairo (no number)

Measurements: W 91cm, L 37cm (as preserved), H 47cm (not including toes).

Excavation report: On 7 April 1926 Chevrier found "base and feet" of a colossus (Chevrier 1926, p. 122). As these were the only base and feet mentioned by Chevrier, they could be this base and feet, now in the basement of the Cairo Museum.

Bibliography: Freed 1999, p. 198 with n. 32.

Description: Front half of a base with toes.[50]

Cf. also K55 above.

Chapter 3
Interpretation

It would be fair to say that almost every Egyptologist has his or her own opinion on the sculptures of Akhenaten and the colossi in particular. Many have been carefully researched, taking into consideration the multiple aspects of Akhenaten's universe that may have influenced their appearance. The following may seem like an exercise devised to complicate the obvious, but it is essential in order to attempt to establish the identity of the colossi. Several suggestions have been put forward as to their identity, and as is so often the case in ancient Egypt they are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Primeval God

Most scholars would refer to the colossi as the 'colossi of Akhenaten,' meaning colossi representing Akhenaten and/or erected by him. But the situation is more complex. Before the reign of Akhenaten it was not unusual for the features of the reigning king as established in his official iconography to be transferred to the image of a deity, most frequently Amun-Ra, but also Ptah or Tatenen. The end result would be a statue of a deity aimed at reflecting the visual appearance of the sovereign who commissioned it in the way that he wished to project himself. A true physical likeness to the model was not the prime issue.

Before the colossi came to light, opinions had been formed on the art of Akhenaten. Arthur Weigall had written a biography of the king, published as early as 1910 with a revised edition published in 1922, relating the king's artistic program to ancient times. "Akhnaton's art might thus be said to be a kind of renaissance—a return to the classical period of archaic days; the underlying motive of this return being the desire to lay emphasis

upon the king's character as the representative of that most ancient of all gods, Ra-Horakhti."[1]

Walther Wolf in 1957 suggested that this might be the case with the colossi, and that they represented a deity: "Are we thus dealing with images of the Aten to whom the king, following a common habit long applied, has lent his own features, or are the images simply meant to be the king? The former explanation may perhaps go some way to explaining the ecstatic, almost monstrous, transformation *(Formverwandlung)*."[2] 'Monstrosity,' a word in itself implying a modern evaluation that may not reflect the ancient perception, would thus be permissible in representations of the divine, but unimaginable when applied to an official 'portrait' of an individual of flesh and blood. Regardless of the interpretation we must recognize that this connoisseur of Egyptian art saw the colossi as deviating from the norm in a negative way. Yet he understood why they might have come to be: Rather than being a realistic portrait they are "heavily stylised, the precipitation of a concept preached by a debilitated fanatic."[3]

Maurice Pillet, who by 1961 had had some thirty-five years to consider the matter after his own spectacular discovery of the first two colossi in the drainage ditch, commented in just a single line on the 'sexless' colossus (H26) discovered a few years after his own initial find. To him it symbolizes the duality of the powers attributed to the Aten: "Father and mother of all that he has created."[4] In other words the colossus visualizes the bisexual nature of the creator god before the sexes were differentiated, exposing the properties of the primeval deity.[5] One may also remember that Amenhotep III had already commissioned statuary of himself in a form reminiscent of pregnancy.[6] The museum in Cairo has thoughtfully displayed this statue in the very same room as the sculpture of Akhenaten.

In 1963, Wolfgang Westendorf devoted an entire article to this interpretation of the colossi as representations of the Aten as the primeval god. The size and appearance of the colossi were clearly reminiscent of 'Osiris pillars' known, for example, from the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut. Their architectural context would provide a clue to an understanding of their identity. But, as Westendorf saw it, Osiris would not have had a place in Akhenaten's theology, and he, too, considered the colossi as a reference to a primeval god responsible for the fertility of the country, even incorporating the idea of 'strong bull,' maintained in the royal titulary. Based on the supposed contemporary pronunciation of the name of the Aten he created a new word: *Jatipfeiler* ('Yati pillar').[7] According to Westendorf, in the Yati pillars Akhenaten identifies himself with his divine

father, maybe "lending him his features, but not the frailty of his body. The god Yati being afflicted by 'Hypogenitalismus,' the creator god unable to reproduce—from our point of view a truly absurd notion!"[8]

Winfried Barta in 1974 explored a particular aspect of a solar deity: the *kamutef*, 'bull of his mother,' and sought to apply it to an interpretation of the 'sexless' colossus in particular.[9] For the uninitiated this requires some background information. In the opinion of Barta, the colossi may well be a manifestation *(Erscheinungsform)* of 'Jati,' the Aten, as primeval god (following Pillet and Westendorf, and before them Weigall), but, if agreeing with such an interpretation, he would expect to see the visual representation of a deity of that nature having the physiological characteristics of both sexes *(Doppelgeschlechtlichkeit)* rather than being a sexless version *(Ungeschlechtlichkeit)*. He also emphasizes the strong influence of the Atum cult of Heliopolis on the formative period of Akhenaten's reform, a theology that relies heavily on explicit, sexual forces as instrumental in the creation of the world. A 'sexless' and 'naked' (*sic* Barta) representation would be totally out of character, and to him this one stands apart from all the others. But then to him it is not a 'sexless' representation as such—it shows an individual whose member has been cut off, and he draws in parallels for such drastic action, all having eventually had a fertile outcome, ranging from the story of the "Two Brothers," where the final manifestation of the main character crystallizes in a splinter of wood that impregnates the female protagonist, to the unfortunate incident when a fish swallows the severed member of Osiris, yet, in the end, with a happy outcome for him and his widow Isis in conceiving, against all odds, the baby Horus. These occurrences can be made to fit into the final context of a sun god impregnating his mother, the *kamutef* being a designation for a deity who engenders himself in a mother goddess by being swallowed by her—just as the sun disk disappears behind the western horizon in the evening.[10] The 'sexless' colossus may thus be brought into the realm of the setting sun, its disappearance toward its nightly journey. We shall have occasion to come back to this below, but from a different point of view. To Barta, it represents "the completed act of autocreation during the course of which the sun god is swallowed by the mother goddess."[11] At the time when Akhenaten erected his buildings at Karnak he would still have been under the influence of conventional beliefs, and would have transferred the *kamutef* properties of Ra and Amun-Ra to this colossal statue, just as he appropriated the format of the Osiris pillar. The remaining colossi, according to Barta, represent the primeval god who performs his creative work alone, without a mother-partner.



Fig. 3.1 Head J53 in the Luxor Museum (C5).

Westendorf's and Barta's interpretations were flatly rejected by Redford in 1977. He suggests that the 'sexless' colossus was executed in haste, and that a garment was perhaps tied or painted on.[12]

In 1989 Dietrich Wildung concurred in seeing the king as a manifestation of the sun god: "The vision of the solar deity's manifestation in the flesh of the king finds its most extreme shape in the colossal statues, which Amenophis IV had placed along the sides of the courtyard of his temple to the sun at Karnak. His body has taken on the swelling shapes of a male-female creator god, the caricature of his face against all anatomical reality being been reduced to mouth, nose and eyes."[13]

Hapy

Christiane Desroches Noblecourt, writing in 1974, compared the role of Akhenaten as "mother and father of humanity" with the part played by the inundation as personified by Hapy, who holds in his person all gods and

goddesses of Egypt and who, by his annual appearance, brings life to Egypt.[14] The idea of the Nile deity was also referred to by Westendorf in the discussion mentioned above.[15] Before the Amarna period, kings had had themselves represented in the guise of this god. This applied especially to Amenhotep III, who may be seen as "the embodiment of the fecundity brought to Egypt by the sun god,"[16] and who was also "a living manifestation of *all* deity."[17] Desroches Noblecourt sees the colossi, including the 'sexless' one, as a new image of ancient ideas, the inundation being the most fundamental event of the year, whether it was under the auspices of all the gods or focused on the Aten. A statue of the king carrying a tray, but admittedly without the fowl and vegetation usually hanging from it, was found at Amarna.[18]

A study of a detail in two-dimensional representations of the king led Gay Robins in 1997 to a similar suggestion:[19]

> Because the new royal image coincided with the preeminence given to the Aten, the new image was probably designed to make a religious statement. Many of the proportions give a feminine appearance to the figure: the slenderness of the torso, the high small of the back, the prominent buttocks and the swelling thighs. Since the king was the manifestation of the Aten on earth and the Aten as creator was androgynous, the king may have intended that his image should incorporate both male and female elements. In addition the Aten brought abundance and prosperity to the land, concepts associated with Hapy, and his corpulence may be meant to display this aspect of the king. This supposition is strengthened by an extraordinary detail that occurs in the rendering of the king's thighs and genital region. Traditionally, figures of kings and elite males wear opaque kilts that reveal nothing of what is underneath. By contrast, most two-dimensional figures of Akhenaten show the forward line of the near thigh beneath his kilt, as it runs upward to meet the stomach fold; no genitals are visible. This recalls the way in which fecundity figures are depicted. Like Akhenaten, they too show no genitalia, perhaps in order to enhance the notion of their corpulence through the conceit that the folds of the fat stomach droop so low as to conceal the genitals.

In 2003 she added:

> Given Akhenaten's role as the image on earth of the creator god Aten and also his identification with Hapy, representing the Nile inundation, the bringer of prosperity, it seems plausible to relate the king's notoriously

> androgynous images to notions of creation and fertility embodied in his person. His images may have been construed solely with this purpose in mind, or they may have drawn their inspiration from life; one might even speculate that an unusual physique on the part of Akhenaten led him to see himself as marked out as having a special relationship with the sun god.[20]

One might add that before the Amarna period the only standing figures sporting a flattened or fan-shaped navel are representations of fecundity figures.[21]

Osiris After All?

In 1985 Robert Hari saw the colossi as osirified representations of Akhenaten, executed at the beginning of the reign and then rejected by the



Fig. 3.2 JE 98894 (A8).

king himself insofar as he blames Akhenaten for having himself ordered their demolition and "ritual burial" ("the famous colossi were not in fact destroyed but buried").[22] This is an opinion that is not often quoted, as the general consensus is that Horemheb was the person who ordered the dismantling of his predecessor's monuments for reuse in his own extensive building program at Karnak.

With all the above suggestions in mind, Alfred Grimm and Hermann Schlögl, writing in 2005, identified without doubt *(zweifelsfrei)* the colossi as Osirid representations of Akhenaten in the general context of a primeval god, and devote a long and persuasive chapter to proving their point.[23] It should be remembered that their agenda was to explain the presence of a colossus of Akhenaten in a private tomb at Thebes, TT 136. This interpretation, with its emphasis on the continued importance of Osiris at the beginning of the Amarna period, has far-reaching implications for the role of the king toward "the other gods," but it does not explain the actual appearance of the colossi, and the authors offer no comment here, nor do they indicate any support for Hari's suggestion concerning the destruction of the monument as being carried out by the king himself.

Akhenaten

Numerous previous examples testify to the fact that it was not uncommon for a king to lend his facial features to representations of a deity. In an isolated case, such as when a head has become separated from the body and is perhaps even damaged, one may be torn between making one or the other identification—king or god? It is a question of balancing the remaining evidence such as scale, material, context in time and space, and so on. In the case of the colossi of Akhenaten some of the sculpture is more or less complete, but we may still be left in doubt as to whether it might be the king or his god (in the guise of the king). The inscriptions are of little help, as the names of both are included.

The appearance of the colossi has naturally caused them to be related to 'Osiris pillars,' known from other architectural contexts. In 1980 Christian Leblanc published a study of such pillars.[24] Pointing out that in Egypt such sculptures never have a supporting function like the Greek caryatid, he divides them into two main types: 1) actual pillars combined with sculptures supporting architraves (to be found in courtyards, terraces, halls in rock-cut temples, and facades), and 2) Osiris colossi, where the pillar element supports the statue, not an architrave or the like (along causeways and walls of a court or hall, in front of gates and pylons, in niches and kiosks). It is the

latter category that concerns us here. The royal figures involved in Osiris pillars display a variety of garments: plain wrappings (like that of Osiris); a "ceremonial skirt"; a short tunic and the royal shendyt kilt; or are without any garment at all.[25] All these different garments can be associated with the sed-festival and the various phases the king has to pass through during the celebrations. This also includes the tight garment usually associated with Osiris. In this context, this otherwise unambiguous reference to Osiris does not signify his funerary role, but his embryonic state before rebirth. When his period of gestation has been completed, the king is then able to carry out his duties dressed in shorter garments more suitable for his dynamic activities. The texts demonstrate beyond doubt that Osirid pillars and statues belong in the context of the sed-festival.

Leblanc applies this model to all Osirid statues, and he has further observed that colossi wearing the tight-fitting wrappings would be placed in the proximity of columns with papyrus bud capitals, whereas colossi dressed in a kilt are to be found in rooms with columns with open papyrus capitals.[26] The symbolism is obvious, the bud hinting at life to come, the embryonic state, and the flower at its fruition. (Applied to Amarna material, these rules were not strictly adhered to, for in other depictions of the temples at Amarna where colossi are set up in a space with closed bud columns, the king wears a garment that allows one of his legs to be placed forward.)[27] Leblanc links this with the ideas already expressed by Christiane Desroches Noblecourt concerning the vegetative state of Osiris after his mutilation, the 'sexless' colossus underlining, for the first time in history, the non-creative condition of the great god.[28] Leblanc emphasizes the identity of the Osirid statues as being that of the king in a temporary state of gestation, not in an eternal condition in the manner of Osiris:

"It is this repeated and explicated alternation between the chthonic and solar concepts that determines the stability of Egypt, or, in a broader sense, that of the universe. It is through these same concepts that the *ḥb-sd* also found its true significance, the one which the statuary called 'Osirid' . . . embodies so admirably."[29]

The excavations of Redford have proved without doubt that the context of the colossi of Akhenaten was indeed the sed-festival, the southern line of statues having been set up against a wall that depicted the procession of the royal family on this occasion. Akhenaten provides the earliest examples of the king wearing a 'ceremonial kilt' on an 'Osirid pillar.' Does this innovation reflect a conceptual innovation as well? It certainly provides an opportunity for using on the 'sporran' the motif of a uraeus crowned by a solar

disk, a detail introduced by Amenophis III during or after his first sed-festival (see further below, page 98 and fig. 3.5).[30] Although the general context of a jubilee thus seems indisputable, there are obvious discrepancies in the iconography of the colossi as compared with two-dimensional representations of this event. There is not a single example of the white crown worn on its own among the colossus fragments, and whatever remains of its counterpart, the red crown (at this time when depicted on its own in relief shown as yellow/golden) more likely belongs to a double crown.

Atum + Shu (Akhenaten) + Tefenet (Nefertiti)

We now have fragments of more than thirty colossi, and it remains a possibility that not all of them represent the same individual, as was also implied in all the passages previously quoted in this chapter.

"The Amarna period should teach us not to be surprised by anything"—appropriate words from Claude Vandersleyen, written in 1984.[31] He continues, "After negative reactions—the style of Akhenaten was treated as 'nightmare realism' (Drioton)—one has become accustomed to the distances that separated it from Egyptian tradition and has appreciated its originality in a positive sense. Yet there is still a kind of incredulity which consigns to oblivion not fragile hypotheses, but quite rational observations which deserve greater interest." One of these was a theory about the 'sexless' colossus that Vandersleyen felt compelled to revive.

It was J.R. Harris, who, in 1977, was the first to suggest that the 'sexless' colossus may not represent Akhenaten, but rather a woman, namely his great royal wife, Nefertiti.[32] He reached this conclusion not just by considering the appearance of the colossus, but through a close study of the position of the queen from an early stage in her career, the identification having been made independently of the colossi.[33] There are no formal objections to her being represented in the form of a colossus, as there are several examples of her virtually equal status with the king. On the colossus in question (H26) the crown (the lower part of the double crown) sits directly on the head (not on a khat or nemes). At the time three more heads seemed to have shared the same characteristics (now the total number is nine: H19–27), and may therefore also have belonged to colossi of Nefertiti.[34] A common feature in all of these heads—with the exception of the Louvre piece H27—is that they appear to have been subject to particularly vicious facial mutilation, an aspect shared by three heads now deprived of their crowns (I28–30), cf. also G16. The arguments in favor of interpreting the 'sexless' colossus (H26) as a female (Nefertiti) can be summed up as follows: its female body; the absence



Fig. 3.3 Detail of crown of the 'sexless' colossus (H26).

of the names of Akhenaten; its secondary beard; the mutilation of the face; and the fact that Nefertiti is known to have had another colossus of similar dimensions set up at Karnak.[35] An argument against is the fact that so far there are no other examples of the queen wearing the double crown.

Whether or not one accepts the identification as Nefertiti, the pieces that constitute this group are clearly defined by one or the other (or both) of two criteria:

a) the double crown resting directly upon the brow
b) characteristic mutilation of nose and eyes
   and in addition
c) some problems with the uraeus

The following catalog entries belong to this group: H19–21, H25, H26 (a+b); H22–23 (a+b+c), H24 (a+(b)+c, I28–30 (b), H29 (a). G16 (b+c) is the only one that has a different crown (apparently khat or nemes).

This consistency in the defacement suggests that the perpetrators considered the colossi in question to represent the same individual. At a late point in her career Nefertiti may have been a likely candidate. It remains a question

as to why the Louvre colossus (H27) escaped attack, or whether it possessed other characteristics that prompted a different interpretation of its identity.

The identification of one or more of the colossi with Nefertiti is closely linked with the above identification of the colossi as manifestations of a deity, in this case Atum, the creator god, but it introduces the female element as a separate entity at a stage of creation where the sexes have been differentiated and the first pair, Shu and Tefenet, has appeared. First there was one. Now there are two—or three, if including Atum. This was a crucial discovery for progress in understanding the colossi and for possibly bringing an end to further groundless speculation.

Vandersleyen makes the observation that if one looks at the statue expecting to see a male, one is immediately struck by the absence of a kilt; if, on the other hand, one views it as a female, she is dressed in a perfectly normal way, that is, in a clinging tunic. He adds that the presence of royal attributes usually associated with a male sovereign can be explained more easily than the absence of male genitalia in a naked king. In Amarna art, the female garments are even more clingy than elsewhere, and at times exceedingly difficult to see. On the 'sexless' colossus the nipples are not visible, unlike those of the decidedly male colossi where they sit "like 'pastilles' stuck on the skin"—according to Vandersleyen for the very reason that they are masked by the garment. The navel also seems to be set higher—apparently a characteristic of the female sex.[36] Vandersleyen dryly concludes that "when identifying [the colossus as] the queen, the absence of a male sexual organ is a useful pointer."[37]

In the 1999 exhibition catalog of "Pharaohs of the Sun," Rita Freed argued that "these statues with their varied headgear and garments may have represented the royal family as the primeval triad of Atum, Shu and Tefnut."[38] Freed's assessment of the statues is distinguished from most other comments on the colossi: she actually seems to like them! She at least describes them in a positive vein by calling them "ethereal, if not haunting," and as "[i]lluminated by the sun's raking light in the open-air courtyard, these statues . . . must have come alive to transport the viewer into a surreal world."

In her 2001 study of royal iconography of the Eighteenth Dynasty, Cathie Spieser takes up this interpretation, recognizing that the ensemble of colossi, while in their form retaining elements of Osiris, emphasize three different aspects of three different types amongst the colossi: one feminine, possibly incorporating Tefenet, a second associated with Atum, and a third associated with Shu.[39] All these observations taken together support the

crucial point that in the congregation of colossi we are indeed dealing with representations of more than one single individual.

Based purely on observation of the colossi, there is nothing specific to link any of them with Atum except for the fact that some share the nemes + double crown (B3, B4, and probably some of those in our categories C and G). It has been pointed out that this combination has strong Heliopolitan connections, to the extent that in certain contexts the king wearing them can be equated with Atum.[40] A sensible theory can therefore be argued for an overall interpretation of the colossi as embodying the primeval triad. If this is the case, a further suggestion may be taken into consideration.

Amenhotep III/Atum/The Aten

In the book accompanying the Tutankhamun exhibition in the USA in 2005 and London in 2007–2008, Zahi Hawass, too, quoted the interpretation of the 'sexless' colossus as being Nefertiti. His statement is followed by another, summing up some previous ideas: "Mythologically then, the figures of Akhenaten and Nefertiti may represent Shu and Tefnut as part of a triad whose third member was the Atum, perhaps to be identified with the senior king (if there was a co-regency), Amenhotep III."[41] This senior king has lately been demonstrated to be in the picture in Akhenaten's universe in a much more prominent way than is generally assumed. In 2005, J.R. Harris wrote:

> In recent years there has developed a growing suspicion, articulated most unequivocally by Raymond Johnson[42] and Nicholas Reeves,[43] that the Aten and the deceased Amenhotpe III were in fact one and the same, so that when Akhenaten refers to "the Aten my father" this is to be understood in a literal sense. The idea is certainly one that merits greater attention, but because the divine filiation of pharaoh—his status as son of the cosmic creator, Ra-Atum, as well as of other dynastic gods—was a commonplace, it is almost impossible to substantiate.[44]

Harris's discussion hinges on a text inscribed on two obelisk fragments of Akhenaten, currently set up among other architectural fragments in front of the Second Pylon at Karnak. On other monuments, as for example one of his commemorative scarabs, Akhenaten is called "son of the Aten, who came from his flesh . . . ," and in the tomb of Ramose (TT 55) he is said to "appear like your father the living Aten"—both examples being of course inconclusive. The obelisks, however, contain an unusual phrase that comes

close to providing a proof. When put together from the two fragments of obelisks the relevant portion of text reads: " . . . great in his life-span, the first engendered of Aten, the eldest son of Harakhty . . . ," the word for 'engendered' being not *mstyw*, as one might expect, but *ḥnntyw* which is derived from the word *ḥnn*, 'phallus,' thus denoting a clear physical relationship. The fact that the word is used only in this place lends it a very special significance: Akhenaten was truly engendered by the Aten, namely his father, Amenhotep III. Harris dates the obelisks to the period before the jubilee and the formal appearance of the name of Ra-Harakhty in a cartouche. Amenophis III with the epithet *itn ṯḥnw* ('the glittering sun-disk') and the disk itself were both manifestations of Ra-Atum. "No statue or other representation of *Nebmȝʿtrʿ itn ṯḥnw* has survived (if ever there was one), but the concept is crystallised in a rebus, composed of a bark with the sun-disk, within which is seated a cryptogram of the prenomen" (translation from Harris 2005, p. 22). One should also remember (so also Harris) that on the later boundary stelae reference is made to "the Aten my father," and elsewhere the king is "the dynamic/radiant child of the living Aten." This equation would seem to apply only to the early years, but this is exactly the period with which we are here concerned.

At this point one should remember the above quotation of Rita Freed that the colossi "represent the royal family as the primeval triad of Atum, Shu and Tefnut."[45] If some colossi represent Akhenaten, and others Nefertiti, one needs to take up again the issue of the identity of Atum. It needs to be considered whether some of the colossi might show Akhenaten's vision of his earthly father in divine guise.

It has recently been suggested by Arielle Kozloff that the Karnak colossi were not produced originally by the sculptors of Akhenaten, but that they had in fact been re-carved from existing colossi of Amenhotep III.[46] At the present time the details of Kozloff's argumentation have not yet been published, but the idea must have sprung from her familiarity with the sculpture of Amenhotep III in connection with the "Egypt's Dazzling Sun" exhibition in Cleveland, in particular the usurpations of Ramesses II.[47] In an additional article,[48] Raymond Johnson has studied sculpture of Amenhotep III discovered at Amarna or with other Amarna connections. Some of his observations have a bearing on the Karnak colossi. They must be seen against the background of, on the one hand, the incredible number of sculptures produced during the reign of Amenhotep III, and, on the other, the deification program of this king, which escalated after his first sed-festival at a time when his son was growing up. Changes were made in the



Fig. 3.4 Profile of JE 49529 (A1).

iconography, not just in relation to the juvenile face of Amenhotep III after the miracle cure of the sed-festival, but also in the garments worn on that occasion.[49] In statuary, the short tunic is replaced by "gauzy robes." On the talatat, Akhenaten retains the traditional, short tunic, but his colossi show another innovation: the short ceremonial kilt with uraeus 'sporran' (Leblanc's category B). The 'sporran' is placed centrally on the kilt, emphasizing the position of the genital area, which is otherwise hidden in the male figure.[50] This kilt, which was first worn in 'Osirid pillars' by Akhenaten, continues in Ramessid Osirid statuary. One may well ask why the king introduced this new garment in connection with a traditional festival depicted on the walls behind the colossi. In the majority of scenes relating to episodes of the jubilee, the king wears the archaic short kilt. There are also, however, numerous examples of a longer garment ("robe") with a bull's tail,[51] similar to the one that the king wears in other offering scenes. A statuette in the Louvre shows him with a short kilt rather similar to those of the colossi, but with an uninscribed belt and no flanking uraei. A cartouche-shaped area over the knot appears to contain hieroglyphs.[52]

Johnson has compared the bellies of father and son, that of the latter having more of a teardrop shape (fig. 3.4). A specific, distinguishing detail is the navel,[53] which in sculpture of Amenhotep III is always round, whereas in that of Akhenaten it is fan-shaped. This raises an interesting point concerning three of the colossi (JE 49529 A1 (fig. 3.5), K38 (fig. 2.63), and K50 (fig. 2.75)), for they have a double navel, or rather one of each. This is no doubt a sculptor's correction, by one trained to drill navels for Amenhotep III.[54] The round hole



Fig. 3.5 Detail of navel and kilt of JE 49529 (A1).

would have been filled with plaster and painted over, and no one would have known. But perhaps it was not an error in the first place, and the statues were meant to carry this distinguishing mark of the older king—either because Akhenaten wanted him shown like that, or—following Kozloff?—because these colossi have been trimmed down from sculptures made earlier. However, all three of these colossi with their belly sections intact retain their belts with the original cartouches *imnḥtp* and *nfrḫprwrꜥ*.

Representations at Amarna show that large statues of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy were set up there alongside statues of Akhenaten,[55] proving, together with a wealth of other material (collected and presented by Johnson), that the old king had a presence in the new city. Hence, one might expect to find traces of the senior king in the Aten temples at Karnak as well, perhaps even more so, and in colossal form (unless it was an arrangement peculiar to a specific type of building at Amarna). If any of the Karnak colossi should be entered into this discussion, it would

have to be those wearing a nemes + double crown, firstly because this combination was in frequent use during the reign of Amenhotep III, and secondly because the double crown was an attribute of Atum.

The statue program of Amenhotep III must have led to activity on an unheard-of scale in the sculptors' workshops. More than a thousand statues of him as king or god have been recorded so far, forty-five of them being colossi.[56] This workforce with expertise in quarrying and carving would have been available to his son as well, and this makes it easier to grasp why so many fragments of statuary have been found, not just at Amarna, but also at Karnak. At the beginning of the reign of Akhenaten large sculpture would thus have been in no short supply. The main worry about seeing some of the colossi as having been re-carved from existing statues of Amenhotep III would lie in the radical change of proportions that occurred early in the reign of his son, as clearly witnessed in the talatat. The face would have had to undergo drastic alteration—that of the old king, after his rejuvenation, being particularly round and chubby—to be transformed to the bony, elongated face of his son. The only feature the faces have in common is the general almond-shape of the eyes—and perhaps the full lips, although whereas the lips of post-jubilee representations of the father are fixed in a rigid smile, those of the son are expressively sculptural.

Another concern would be a point that is perhaps less obvious: the interesting choice of ordinary sandstone for the Karnak colossi. Betsy Bryan has demonstrated that sandstone was not commonly worked for Amenhotep III's figures, quoting just some works in the mortuary temple, such as perhaps the ram sphinxes later moved to Karnak.[57] The colossal heads of the king (from colossi originally some eight meters high, nearly twice the size of Akhenaten's colossi), now in the British Museum, are made of a brown siliceous sandstone better known as quartzite. These heads show a distinctive treatment of the long and narrow eyes with a sharply raised edge on the upper lid, a feature that will subsequently be seen in the Karnak colossi of his son. According to Bryan, "there is little doubt that they are the work of the same sculptors."[58] She adds that Akhenaten's eyes are similar to his father's on the two heads, but have the added feature of a concave or sunken eyelid, which, in colossal statuary in particular, took advantage of light and shadow. So, unless one would argue that the Karnak colossi are the exceptions that prove the rule, it is unlikely that the choice of sandstone would have been made by Amenhotep III and that he was the one who commissioned them. His post-*ḥb-sd* sculpture would require a stone more suitable to smoothing and polishing.

A final comment on the issue of the colossi having had an original form going back to the reign of Amenhotep III would be that there seems to be no royal statuary contemporary with the very earliest activities of Akhenaten at Karnak, when the temple to Ra-Harakhty was being built.[59] The relief sculpture found here is very similar to the post-*ḥb-sd* style of his father. If the colossi were indeed drastically cut down from an original version in more conventional style, one might perhaps consider whether the original sculpture belonged to this otherwise vacant phase.

Rita Freed has voiced the opinion that "some of the king's ideas must have evolved as the colossi were carved, since many show corrections in the area of the eyes, the headgear, and the navel."[60] This would provide



Fig. 3.6 Detail of Luxor head and torso (E12) with recarved nemes.

an explanation for alterations performed by the sculptors of Akhenaten without their having taken over his father's statues. Alleged eye corrections are apparent in the heads in the Louvre (H28), in Alexandria (A2, see fig. 5.1), and in Luxor Museum nos. J46 (G15) and J55 (G14), while recarving of the headdress is evident in the Luxor head and torso (E12, fig. 3.6). It would appear that the eyes have been enlarged slightly in the area of the lower lid, the original line being still visible. There may be another reason for this feature, but it is not immediately obvious why it might have been the artist's intention to render the eye in this way.[61]

The colossus in the Luxor Museum shows the king wearing a nemes, on top of is placed a double crown or plume, the uraeus being intact. But the lappets of the nemes have been partly trimmed down, leaving a smooth surface that rises somewhat above the surface of the shoulders. The bulk of the nemes behind the ears has been treated in the same way, exposing a smooth surface of slightly inward curving cuts. This recarving is clearly unfinished, and it is difficult to gauge what the intended end result might have been. It was too drastic to have allowed for an alteration to the khat,[62] which leaves the option of perhaps exposing the neck completely as in the 'sexless' colossus and its companions. If so, we might then envisage a proposed, but uncompleted, alteration from Atum/Amenhotep III to Tefenet/Nefertiti, but this would have involved some difficulty in shaping the double crown out of the available stone.[63] The nipples remain male nipples.

When identifying some of the colossi and the 'sexless' colossus (H26) in particular (as this one is the only one with a body), the issue of the beard should also be considered. The beards recovered (K57a–g) are all the straight beard of royalty with horizontal stripes, triangular in section to include the negative space joining it to the neck. The beard is in its original position on a number of colossi, being made in one piece with the rest (A1, B3, B4, D9, E12, H27). The 'sexless' colossus H26 shows a deep rectangular cavity under the chin (fig. 3.3) carved so carefully that it cannot be a mark of a beard having been chopped off, but rather of a beard having been affixed separately, either as an afterthought, or because of some damage or change of plan during the initial stages of the work. It is well known from the case of Queen Hatshepsut that a female ruler could be represented with a beard in a ritual context, and the presence of a beard should not a priori been seen as an obstacle to identifying the owner as a female, especially not in the case of Nefertiti who was later to achieve virtually equal status with her husband.[64]

The Aten

An identification of the colossi with the Aten implies an identification with a primeval god, and it should be seen as such, as argued above. But it may also be considered separately and in the context of additional evidence. In 1961 Cyril Aldred had advocated an identification with the Aten:

> If in making such colossi, Akhenaten was challenging comparison with the Osiride pillars in the temples of his forefathers, we may assume perhaps that he has chosen to represent himself as assimilated to his god, the Aten, a supposition which is supported by the inscribing of the name of the Aten on all the pectorals and ornaments in place of his own name which would be the more normal practice. This attempt to represent the ruler as imbued with the divinity of the Aten may help to explain the extraordinary expressionist distortion of form in these sculptures .[65]

These thoughts are echoed in the 1968 edition of the substantial work on Egyptian art and architecture by Kurt Lange and Max Hirmer, revised by Eberhard Otto, in the accompanying text to pictures of the colossi:

> Here already he showed a special relationship to Aton . . . . The great statues from Karnak are reminiscent of the old Osiris-pillars, in which the king and the god Osiris are shown intermingled as though in one form. They suggest the idea that Amenophis IV has shown himself in them intermingled with the god Aton. . . . It is more probable that these statues represent in their very strong stylization the clear expression of the king's fanatically inspired prophecy and a spiritual tension which amounted nearly to madness.[66]

In 2004, Cathie Spieser was inspired to look at royal iconography of the Eighteenth Dynasty, based on the Egyptians' perception of the human body as composed of disparate elements, both in a medical and in a theological context.[67] Particular attention was paid to divine and royal components in one body, as for example the age-old constellation of falcon/Horus/king. In the case of Amenhotep III it was a question of reconciling the second youth the king was given in his later statuary with physical reality, the change having coincided with his first sed-festival. Here, on the other hand, we are faced with the deified king Akhenaten choosing to demonstrate his metamorphosis in multiple statues of himself replacing those of other deities.[68]

The visual references to Shu, Atum, and Tefenet in the appearance of the Karnak colossi were used as elements in a discourse that took place at a symbolic and not a mythological level, corresponding with the king's thoughts. This explains also the use of traditional, divine symbols, notably in the royal headdress, which contained a reference to the king's theological discourse. The association of these symbolic and divine elements with the king's image should be understood as a way of grasping the personality of Akhenaten as closely linked to the one he had given the god, Aten. Instead of blending his image with the falcon or the sphinx, Akhenaten associates himself, in the



Fig. 3.7 Relief from tomb of Huya at Amarna showing the royal couple before the sun-disk.

present case, directly with the Aten by means of these elements. The result is statues where the king is included in a theological message. Rather than showing the representative of the Aten on earth, they show the very manifestation of the god Aten on earth, the human form of the Aten, the god.[69]

According to Spieser, in deciding the iconography of the colossi the king demonstrated a wish to retain certain traditional values and integrate them into his reform. This would explain the use of the archaic nemes, 'updated' in some cases by means of stylized locks of hair on the lappets, and of the khat, royal elements introduced in order to achieve the transition from representations of the god to representations of the royal couple.[70] The colossi were "a giant piece of rhetoric on the nature of the Aten blended with that of the sovereign." The various elements of the body had been revised and corrected to make different entities.

In constructing his solar theology centered upon the disk, Akhenaten was faced with the intricate problem of providing a cult image to be the focus of all attention. In the decision-making process the initial issue would have been whether there should be a cult image at all. He would no doubt have been able to produce a convincing case against it, for what could be more radical and different (if that was his intention) than making the disk in the sky the sole recipient of the ministrations, as had been done before in complementary form in solar temples and chapels with sun courts? He may have agreed with Hornung, who wrote that "there could be no statues of this god—"sculptors do not know him" as is stated in the earlier text of the boundary stelae—or how could the light that ruled the world be represented in sculpture in the round?"[71]

It was unheard of to leave the walls of the temples bare, however, and the choice was made to depict the deity as a large hieroglyph, the disk, corresponding to the way in which it was written in the texts, but with the addition of rays and hands (fig. 3.7). The dilemma arose when contemplating whether or not to devise a three-dimensional image. In her brief study of cult images (2005), Gay Robins draws attention to a fragmentary text from the very beginning of Akhenaten's reign that reveals an outspoken antipathy on his part to traditional cult statues as compared to the Aten who created himself, saying:

> "Look, I am speaking that I might inform [you concerning] the forms of the gods, I know [their?] temples [and I am versed in] the writings, (namely) the inventories of their primeval bodies [and I have beheld them] as they cease, one after the other, (whether) consisting of any sort of

> precious stone . . . , [except for the god who begat] himself, no one knowing the mysteries . . . : he goes where he pleases and they know not [his] going . . . toward him at night." It is frustrating that the text is so broken, but it does suggest that for the king who would become Akhenaten there was something unsatisfactory about traditional cult statues.[72]

In view of what has been said above, it is not surprising that the deity should have manifested himself in the guise of the king—problem solved. One would perhaps have expected to see a sun-disk on his head as a crown. But did the king ever for a moment stop to consider whether his itn (Aten) was in actual fact a disk? Vandersleyen thinks that he might have.[73] In two periods of Egyptian art history there appears to have been a desire for more sculptural forms of relief, a greater depth in the carving, and a marked difference in height from the background, bordering on high relief: the end of the Thirtieth Dynasty, leading to the Ptolemaic period, and the Amarna period. Vandersleyen refers to the fact that Desroches Noblecourt consistently speaks of "le globe d'Aton," and that even Schäfer addressed this possibility, only to reject it.[74] Vandersleyen concludes that:

> in the periods when the sun was presented as a disk, human beings were also sculpted in the manner of flat silhouettes. And in the same way that the thickness given to an arm, in the Amarna period as well as the Ptolemaic period, reminds us that it is circular in section, the same extraordinary 'bombement' (convexity) of the sun, at these times, tells us that it is a globe.

However, hundreds of statues and bronzes show solar disks, not solar spheres.

In 1990 Robert S. Bianchi published a statue in which he purported to see a representation of a solar deity in the form of a human body with a globe for a head (fig. 3.8).[75] The globe has no uraeus, an otherwise distinguishing feature of Akhenaten's god, but the figure wears a penis sheath and holds a *sḫm* scepter. Bianchi dates it to before Year 3 of Akhenaten, and possibly to the very end of the reign of Amenhotep III, and, based on the interpretation of the ankh sign as a penis sheath,[76] proposes to read the entire figure as a rebus, *sḫm ꜥnḫ itn*, "living image of the Aten." The article drew a comment by Eugene Cruz-Uribe, who reminds us that such a disk could equally well be a lunar disk, referring to the night,



Fig. 3.8 Statue with 'globe' head.

and hence incorporating aspects of Osiris in addition to its more obvious solar symbolism.[77] Grimm and Schlögl include an excellent photograph of the figure in their work, but reject the interpretation given by Bianchi and, in agreement with Hornung,[78] would rather see it as a statue of a traditional sun god of pre-Amarna date.[79]

A Representation of Time?

Whether or not we accept the interpretation and date of this statue in a private collection, we may now return to the issue of the colossi as

representations of Akhenaten's god. The conventional sun god manifested itself in different forms, denoting stages in the daily aging process: the god at dawn (scarab), at noon (falcon-headed Ra-Harakhty), and at evening/night (ram-headed Atum). The Aten may have had a similar life cycle, and this may have been visualized in the numerous colossi, which all carry the identifying stamps of the god's full didactic name, revealing Ra-Harakhty in his different manifestations: "Ra-Harakhty who rejoices in the horizon in his name Shu who is the Aten," that is to say, Ra-Harakhty, Shu, and the disk in one. An early comment by De Wit (1950) suggests cautiously relating the 'sexless' (sic) colossus to the myth of the sun being born every morning from the celestial cow. "The belly of the king would then represent a kind of 'matrix primordialis.' Like Aton the king would be 'the mother who produces all', the principle of universal life."[80]

In 1977 J. R. Harris wrote:

> The significance of the colossi is difficult to determine. There seems to be programmatic intention in the full series of headdresses worn by Akhenaten, and in four instances he is assimilated to Shu. Whether the figures that wear the double crown are to be seen as a further extension of the didactic programme, and in what sense, is in the present state of our knowledge imponderable. If the entire group is intended to represent Rē-Harakhty (Aten) in different hypostases, as indeed the cartouches may indicate, then one might postulate the symbolic expression both of the phases of the sun's aging and of the complementary principles of fecundity. That the *diva matrix* should thus be reflected in the queen's person is the less difficult to accept in the present context, in that the counterpart of the king as Shu would be the queen as Tefenet, who, through the imagery of the solar eye, might be further equated with Hathor. And if the figure is actually Nefertiti, one is not faced with the incongruity of an emasculated Akhenaten posing as cosmic creator.[81]

We may thus see the young sun in the form of Shu,[82] the old sun as Atum (colossi with nemes + double crown B3, B4, possibly also the variant khat + double crown A1, A2, see page 117)—and what may be described as a personified womb, the *diva matrix* reminiscent of Tefenet/Hathor (the 'sexless' colossus H26 and its companions with the double crown H19–24 as well as H27), the prerequisite for creating a full circle and assuring the perpetual circuit of the sun by its daily renewal.[83] When applying



Fig. 3.9 Front view of JE 49528 (D9).

this interpretation, one may understand the colossi as a monumental, visual representation of time—a concept that was of great concern to the king, who referred to himself "great in his life span." This epithet of his occurs on the belts of at least three of the colossi and also on a number of talatat from Karnak, as well as on the above-mentioned obelisks; blocks from the earlier temple to Ra-Harakhty, reused in the Tenth Pylon; and in the tomb of Ramose. Desroches Noblecourt pondered the meaning of this expression, translating it as "epoch," but adding a note saying:

> This is the word *âhâ* which can also be translated "time, duration of existence" (governed by the sun). When the gods grant pharaoh the "renewed" longevity that they wish [him] and which the jubilees [*ḥb-sd*] were to assure, they assign to him the "duration" *(âhâ)* (i.e., the repeated, visible circuit) of the sun and the years *(renput)* of Atum. Here we find a daily cycle and

an annual cycle begun again and again. This expression "great in his duration" (i.e., "his appearance on earth like the sun") belongs exclusively to Amenophis IV.[84]

Assmann defines *ʿḥʿw* as the measured span of time given to all living creatures for their life on earth, as opposed to unlimited, cosmic time.[85] It was clearly imperative to Akhenaten to proclaim that his duration would be a long one.[86]

The "living sun" manifested itself not only in its dazzling light but also, by its movement across the sky, as time, originating from this divine light. "You yourself are the time in which and through which one lives."[87] This was the true innovation of Akhenaten's cosmic ideas. Radiance and motion make the world, and everything, every single being or object, is an embodiment of god. But when the sun sets and darkness reigns, there is no life. The king, however, does not suffer the nightly trauma of being non-existing, he is truly "great in his life-span," living for a great length of time, even at night when the sun is in his heart, and in his alone.

Crowns

A notion of time may also be detected when considering the choice of headdress in the colossi from a different angle, for in the previous paragraph we did not discuss the combination of khat + double crown and to whom this may pertain.[88] Khat and nemes occur in tandem in different contexts. When worn by Queen Hatshepsut and the young King Tuthmosis III in the decoration of the queen's mortuary temple at Deir al-Bahari it is apparent that nemes and khat are complementary, one displaying a solar, the other a lunar meaning.[89] The most unambiguous example comes from the tomb of Tutankhamun where the two black 'guardian statues' display nemes and khat respectively.[90] The texts on the royal kilt are illuminating: on the former they refer to the king as "The dynamic god, lord of crowns/regalia Nebkheprura, son of Ra, Tutankhamun, ruler of Southern Heliopolis, living for ever, like Ra every day" (that is, the king as ruler of the living), the latter to the king as "the *ka* of Harakhty, the Osiris, King, Lord of the Two Lands, Nebkheprura, justified," a titulary with funerary connotations. Together the two statues incorporate the king as ruler of day and night. If this concept also applied to the colossi we may take the juxtaposition of the two headdresses, nemes and khat, as an unambiguous reference to both day and night being embodied in the king. In subsequent years at Amarna itself, the nemes is exceedingly rare.[91]

Two out of the four(?) examples of nemes + feathers (D9, D10) show an unusual pattern on the flaps of the nemes. On D9, the only one currently accessible from behind, this also applies to the 'pigtail' at the back. As mentioned on page 39, the closest parallel to such an arrangement is on one of the coffins of Tutankhamun. The only earlier example of nemes + wig is the almost life-size statue of King Djoser of the Third Dynasty, which has unusually pointed lappets sitting on top of a full, long wig.[92] The wig-like markings may be reflected in representations of Shu wearing a short wig. There may also be an affinity with the short wig (often called Nubian wig) sported by Akhenaten as well as Nefertiti, though this is not immediately obvious. Nefertiti may also wear the khat, and in an isolated instance at Amarna this has a wig pattern.[93]

In the Womb

As mentioned above, the identification of Nefertiti with Tefenet suggests itself from various sources, and from this follows an equation with Hathor. The 'hathorification' of Nefertiti has previously been pointed out by Lana Troy[94] and lately by the present writer.[95] From the outset the colossi were described, and disliked, for emphasizing female characteristics in what was to all intents and purposes a male figure, in particular with regard to the lower torso. Early interpretations saw a possible reference to the creative powers of a primeval deity before the distinction of the two sexes. Jan Assmann has used the word 'embryogony' to describe this origin of life in a womb.[96] In fact, the abdomen hints at the space within that would shelter a child.[97] With the inclusion of the 'sexless' colossus (H26), interpreted as a woman, the missing element in the sun's circuit has been given physical reality.

The young sun is often described in the texts from the moment it rises in the eastern sky. The sources are fewer when it comes to disclosing where it goes at night. The world becomes dark and sleeps, as if dying, but what happens to the sun when it has set over the western mountains? Traditionally it would pass through the body of the goddess Nut, hidden from view, yet visualized by artists who depict the red disk being swallowed in the evening and coming forth from the womb in the morning, a concept known from as early as the Pyramid Texts. It is demonstrated in various ways (cf. also the comments on *kamutef* above, page 87).[98] There is some evidence to suggest that the people of the Amarna period took an unusual interest in womb, placenta, and fetus and used them to reinvent aspects of their burial rites.[99]



Fig. 3.10 Cartouches of the Aten (K48).

Additional support for seeing the colossi as the Aten in the various stages of its life (in gestation, as newborn, and as mature) might have been available if we were better informed of the way in which they were placed in their architectural context at Karnak. We do not know if there was a sequence, whether they were grouped according to type, or mixed. The Egyptians were usually very meticulous about orientation, and one would perhaps expect to find Shu colossi toward the east, Atum colossi in the middle, and Tefenet colossi toward the west (the 'sexless' colossus, at least, was found near the western end of the southern line of statues). On the other hand, they could have been repeated consecutively one after the other. In a reconstruction by Redford published in 1984, showing four colossi with alternating nemes + plumes and nemes + double crown, the alternative arrangement has been chosen "according to Chevrier's original numbering scheme," numbered (from right to left) A, 1, 2, 3.[100]

The complementary principles of fecundity may be explored a little further. It has already been demonstrated that an interpretation relating

the colossi to Hapy may be relevant, and that the 'sexless' colossus (H27) may imply the idea of 'the womb.' On page 98, we refer to the 'ceremonial kilt' (Leblanc's terminology) as being provided with a 'sporran,' flanked by two uraei, which accentuates the genital area rather than masking it. On the central part of the belt (cf. page 26) are the king's titles and two cartouches: *nṯr nfr nfrḫprwrʿ sꜣ rʿ nb ḫʿw i͗mnḥtp ḥḳꜣ wꜣst ʿꜣ m ʿḥʿw.f*, "great in his life span" being added as an essential epithet.[101] Grimm and Schlögl discuss what they think may be a statue of a primeval god, found at Karnak and now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. They are interested in the double feathers, not in the garment.[102] The latter attracted Russmann, who included two exquisite photographs of it in her 1989 publication.[103] The large statue (H 235cm) bears the cartouches of Amenhotep II, great-grandfather of Akhenaten. The penis sheath is held in place by a knotted belt. Speaking of the sculptor, Russmann says, "Looking closely . . . one can see that he had no idea of what it [that is, the sheath] was really made of. Nor does he seem very clear about just how it was fastened to the belt." The above-mentioned statue with disk head also wore a penis sheath. It remains a possibility that the inspiration for the 'ceremonial kilt' was the function of a penis sheath that no one had ever seen in use, combined with the conventional royal kilt, and that this garment, by masking it, nevertheless directed attention to the physical location of the creative powers of the king/the god.

Multiplicity of Approaches

In Egyptian thought there is more than one truth, and components of a whole may be found in all of the ideas concerning the colossi quoted above. This is exactly what causes the dilemma of interpretation, especially when seen from the point of view of Amarna religion as it was exposed in texts and representations after the move to Amarna. At Karnak, we are at the initial stages for which the foundations had been laid up to two generations earlier. At Amarna it had reached its fruition. The lack of longer texts from the Karnak years forces us to rely chiefly on the illustrations and erasures on the monuments. The information on the Karnak talatat agree more or less with those found at Amarna, with the major exception that only at Karnak do we have pictorial references to the sed-festival, which was confined to this period and location.

The colossi tell a different story from the wall scenes. At first sight the focus is on the Aten in the form of the 'seals' with the royal double cartouches stamped on or affixed to the body (fig. 3.10). Such body markings



Fig. 3.11 JE 98895.

were known from the beginning of the Old Kingdom with names incised on the skin, perhaps even as an afterthought.[104] In the colossi they are raised some 2cm from the surface, with the hieroglyphs incised in this space. They were thus included at the planning stage—unless they betray an earlier, plumper version of the statues(?). Seals also appear on representations of Akhenaten on talatat from Karnak and Amarna. In reliefs they sit like bracelets on the upper and/or (if the garment worn has a sleeve) the lower arm, rotated ninety degrees compared with the colossi so that they maintain their vertical alignment.[105] It would seem, however, that there was a preference for placing the cartouches in a vertical position, so that if the arm is held vertically the cartouches are once more rotated to stay as vertical as possible.[106] Seals are included on what we would see as the inner arm, that is, the arm furthest from the spectator.[107] On a belt there was, of course, no option but to place the cartouches of the Aten in a horizontal position with the hieroglyphs accordingly written horizontally, as opposed to the king's cartouches, which are vertical. Sculpture from Amarna likewise includes the seals, but only in the incised version (not raised).

The usual *imy ḥb*(*w*) *sd* "who is in [his] sed-festival(s)," constantly seen after the name of the Aten on the walls, is absent on the colossi. This is the more peculiar as their context has been demonstrated to be the very occasion of a sed-festival, and one talatat shows the Aten extending a *ḥb-sd* hieroglyph to the king.[108] We must revert to the unsolved question of "whose sed-festival?" The Aten's? The king's? Or was it thought of as the fourth *ḥb-sd* of Amenhotep III—now in the form of the Aten? The frequent plural writing of *ḥb*(*w*)-*sd* would point to the latter interpretation.

That the concept of the sed-festival was relatively unchanged is apparent not only from the wall decoration of the Karnak temples, but also from a fragment of a hymn that specifically hails the king as being in charge of the rites according to ancient writings.[109] The colossi differ from the prescribed instructions (as we may infer them from the representations in relief) in that the accoutrements have been revised. The ceremonial kilt with 'sporran' replaces the archaic short kilt, and the selection of crowns is different. The blue crown is absent; on the other hand the nemes is present, being excluded on the Karnak talatat, as well as the khat, also appearing frequently on the Karnak talatat. Furthermore, on the colossi the double crown is placed atop both khat and nemes, the latter combination having been introduced by Amenhotep III (fig. 3.11).[110]

A relevant detail was noted by Rita Freed on one of the colossi:[111] a curved line suggesting that a broad collar had been painted on the figure. In the reign of Amenhotep III this, along with a *shebyu* collar, was an indication that a sed-festival had been completed.[112] The colossi (whomever they represent) may thus have celebrated such a festival in spite of the fact that this is not acknowledged in their inscriptions.

It would seem that now, some three thousand five hundred years after the event, we will continue to live with the fact that there is no final answer to our questions about the meaning of the colossi. They appear to incorporate a number of concepts, which, each in their own time and context, provide a solution, but never to the exclusion of the others. There are strong indications that they are meant to represent Akhenaten (identified by his name on the belt) in different solar aspects (identified by the cartouches of the Aten and a variety of combinations of headgear). We may well be able to decode the message of Akhenaten through his writings, and, projecting them onto the representations, we can perhaps form a picture of this extraordinary period in the long tradition of Egyptian history; but the final assessment will always be colored by the baggage that we bring to the discourse. The answer rests with our own response to an era, which, like the Aten, we can see, but never fully understand.

Chapter 4
Aesthetics

To spectators in modern times the first encounter with Akhenaten's colossal statues from Karnak was a shocking experience. With the exception of the battered images of the king flanking his boundary stelae at Amarna, they were the first large-scale sculptures in the round to come to light with the body in a reasonable state of preservation. Like all art that transcends the accepted norm, their immediate effect was disturbing, not just because they were different from what one had come to expect from Egyptian art, but because their strangeness had sexual undertones. The dynamics of any break with tradition, a threshold leading to another 'classic' period, have been demonstrated in the history of art through the centuries. One may mention the human body as deconstructed by the cubists; a landscape being dissolved by the impressionists; or motifs being transformed into unidentifiable elements by abstract painters. During the past two hundred years we have learned to appreciate and understand Egyptian art, including most of the royal sculpture from the Amarna period, eventually even representations of the king. But the Karnak colossi have been subject to an astounding degree of negative comment ever since they resurfaced some eighty years ago. We are in a position to gauge our own response to these ancient sculptures in our different age. But we have no means of fully understanding how the ancient Egyptians themselves viewed the experiments of Akhenaten and his chief sculptors. Scholars are faced with a dilemma that will affect their aesthetic criticism: are we to judge them by today's standards and limit ourselves to admiring form, material, color, size, and craftsmanship? Or may we attempt to transport ourselves back into the company of those Egyptians who lived three thousand five hundred years ago? The element of novelty, undoubtedly experienced in



Fig. 4.1 JE 98915 (B3).

antiquity, may be dimmed by the fact that we cosmopolitans of today have seen faces faintly reminiscent of Amarna art before, for example in the paintings of Modigliani, and distorted bodies in the bronzes of Giacometti, but, as manifest in a range of books, articles, and exhibition catalogs, in the context of ancient Egypt this has helped neither the appreciation nor the understanding of Akhenaten's intentions. As progress is nevertheless being made in various fields of research, we seem to be getting closer to reading at least some of the messages that ancient Egyptian art conveys. The fact that we are still moved by Akhenaten's sculpture is a sign of its greatness. In view of the added element of its antiquity the word 'eternal' would seem entirely appropriate here.

Even before the first colossus was unearthed in 1925 the public was aware of the unusual artistic achievements of this period. The head of Nefertiti had been found in 1912; the wall decoration of the private tombs at Amarna was published in 1903–1908; and the boundary stelae and flanking sculpture were first noticed and depicted (albeit redrawn almost beyond recognition) in a work by the French priest Claude Sicard who visited them as early as 1714, and then—in excellent drawings—by

Robert Hay in the 1820s. A few relief blocks had been sighted by Prisse d'Avennes in the Tenth Pylon at Karnak in the 1840s. But the figures by the boundary stelae were mutilated, and the later finds from the workshop at Amarna consisted mostly of heads without bodies. Representations in the tombs were two-dimensional. The new colossi were massive, and the first ones were more or less complete with the exception of the legs. Over the following eighty years they were to mystify Egyptologists and art historians who struggled to make sense of them, and still do. The overriding, irresistible question is: did King Akhenaten look like this? Such considerations had rarely been addressed in relation to any other sculpture from ancient Egypt, as it seemed to be tacitly implied that, with the possible exception of certain Twelfth Dynasty royal sculpture, likeness to a model was not the principal issue. So why did it suddenly become so important? Why will we persist in our belief that this king's representations must mirror his actual appearance? And, even if the king did look like this in real life, why would he want to commemorate it in hundreds of representations?

These are complex questions. The representational program, and, in this case, the way in which the king was to manifest himself in statuary, reliefs, and paintings, was planned with the utmost attention to detail and to the message the king desired to broadcast to his contemporaries and, perhaps, to posterity—in other words: the proclamation was heavily edited.[1] An assessment of the sculptures needs to take into consideration this message, or else we will never begin to penetrate beyond its surface. We must listen to how the colossi have been perceived by those who have attempted to come to terms with them before. Comments on the appearance of the colossi are naturally often linked to an interpretation of their identity and significance (Chapter 3), but emphasis will now be on aesthetic.

Weigall in 1922 (see page 85 above) saw the art of Akhenaten as a renaissance harking back to the beginning of history, seeing the king as a representation of Ra-Harakhty. The emphasis on the cult of the sun naturally finds its roots in the Old Kingdom, if not at the very beginning of Egyptian civilization, and this link may have been even stronger than suggested by the available evidence. After the discovery of the colossi, opinions have covered the whole spectrum of aesthetic evaluation of the king's physical appearance. The substance of this renaissance became apparent during the reign of Amenhotep III, and its effect on the representation of the human body took its characteristic physical form

during the first years of his son. In 1961 Cyril Aldred placed Akhenaten as instigator of the new development, the root of which he sees as a deviation from the norm in the king's own personal appearance: "The mannerism of this initial phase . . . can owe its peculiar character only to the ideas of one individual—Akhenaten himself . . . . The bodily peculiarities of the king have been exaggerated to the extent of becoming a fashionable distortion, a mark of the elect, which is duly assumed by his faithful followers also!"[2]

Between them, the colossi are different and similar at the same time. When describing one, one has summarized all of them. In fact, to some extent they share such characteristics with the so-called 'reserve heads' of the Fourth Dynasty, which have also been called both 'individual' and 'stylized' and which appear to be part of a series belonging to a specific time and location. Interestingly, in the case of the heads it is impossible to determine whether they are male or female.[3] This has also been an issue with the colossi, especially the 'sexless' one, JE 55938 (H26). The most complete colossus, JE 49529 (A1), was described as follows in 1989 by Edna Russman, an author who has so admirably described Egyptian works of art from all periods:

> Almost everyone reacts strongly to this statue. Many experience a curious, uncomfortable mixture of repulsion and attraction. It is not easy to explain the almost charismatic presence of so grotesque a figure, whose every feature is distorted or deformed. The face and neck are gaunt and elongated. The lids seem to droop over narrowed, slanted eyes. The arrogance of their remote gaze is reinforced by a long patrician sliver of a nose. But thick, pouting, sensuous lips seem to be held closed only by conscious effort. Overlarge as it is, this mouth is dwarfed by a chin of monstrous length and pendulosity, on which the false royal beard looks less like a hanging attachment than a prop to shore it up. It is not difficult to imagine this face as that of a fanatic, or even one deranged.[4]

Her comment concerns JE 49529 (A1), but would be applicable to every single one among the colossi. The text is illustrated by pale, unearthly photographs of this colossus, which preserves a hint of a painted iris.[5] She continues:

> If the face is strange, the representation of Akhenaten's anatomy is almost shocking. The scrawny neck, the starkly protruding collarbones, puny

arms and shoulders, and a pigeon breast suggest an aged man or one wasted by chronic disease. Below the high, nipped waist, however, the king's body balloons. His pleated kilt cannot contain the flaccid paunch, the weight of which flattens not only the navel but also the front of the broad belt over which it hangs. Behind, the buttocks protrude even more. But fattest of all are the enormous, bulging, womanly thighs. Of all the anomalies of this figure, the unmistakably female look of Akhenaten's lower body is the most disconcerting. Small wonder that so many have attempted to explain it.

Russmann concludes, "No one has yet succeeded, however, and it is unlikely that anyone ever will."

The above quotation may be supplemented by another lucid description of the appearance of the colossi by Dorothea Arnold on the occasion of the exhibition, not of Akhenaten, but of the female members of his family in Boston in 1997.[6] It deserves to be quoted in full:



Fig. 4.2 The king's bony hands and the cartouches of the Aten on a fragmentary torso at Karnak (K39).

Early in the reign of King Amenhotep IV . . . Egyptian art underwent a transformation that must have shocked the king's subjects as much as it does the uninitiated modern viewer. At a temple of the Aten at Karnak, colossal sculptures about 16.5 feet (5 meters) high were erected against massive pillars that surrounded the temple court on at least three sides. In these figures traditional royal iconography appears strangely—almost grotesquely—distorted. The king's enormous thighs are tightly drawn together by a kneelength pleated kilt whose upper edge, supported by a heavy, angular belt, droops below the pharaoh's protruding belly. Long, sinewy arms are crossed above a narrow waist; the hands are placed on somewhat effeminate breasts that are positioned unnaturally close to the shoulders. Above the large bony hands holding the royal crook and flail, a ceremonial beard of great length is flanked by the sharply ridged, overextended clavicles. The king's names are inscribed on the buckle of the belt, whereas the belt itself is decorated with the cartouches of the Aten. The god's names are also incised on rectangular plaques, similar to stamp seals, which are fixed to the king's waist, arms, and clavicles.

Head, headgear, and ceremonial beard occupy almost one third of the statue's total height. Beneath the impressive mass of the huge double crown, the face is framed by enormous drop-shaped lobes, the side parts of a royal *khat* headdress. Hollow cheeks and an aristocratically thin, elongated nose separate the mouth from the widely spaced, slanting eyes set under a bony brow. The king peers, as if shortsighted, through narrowly slit eyes that are hooded by heavy, angularly banded upper lids. The double-wing shape of the lower part of the nose is repeated, in much stronger terms, in the boldly sculptured mouth, undoubtedly the liveliest feature of this uncompromising face. A curved line extending from the nose to the corners of the mouth indicates a muscle fold that Egyptian artists used, commonly in a more three-dimensional way, to give individuality to sculptured faces. Here, it is linearly incised, as if to emphasize through this stylization the superhuman qualities of this visionary's face.

The somewhat aloof smile gives human expression to the Karnak statue's surprising head, but the size and shape of the head and face clearly exceed natural dimensions. We are confronted less with a representation of a human face than with artistic variations of human features. The effect is awesome: pharaoh's divinity expressed through a transfiguration of human forms.



Fig. 4.3 Detail of the king's lips and naso-labial fold of the Alexandria head (A2).

After a section explaining the possible reasons for Nefertiti's likeness to her husband in representations, Arnold continues:

> Viewers have argued that the Karnak sculptures and reliefs depicted the 'true' features of the king and queen, and that the artists worked under the king's personal directive to portray him and his queen exactly as they looked. This understanding of early Amarna art as realistic has led to an ongoing search for explanations (pathological and otherwise) for the 'abnormal' in the representations of members of the royal family. Recently Edna R. Russmann[7] repudiated this whole approach with her liberating statement that "diagnoses of this kind are based on false premises. They arise from modern perceptions and preoccupations—from scientifically oriented curiosity and from our irresistible tendency to assume that distinctive features must, like a photograph, mirror an actual appearance. Akhenaten's concerns, of course, were entirely different. In departing radically from the styles of all earlier royal representations . . . the . . .

representations of Akhenaten at Karnak are deliberately unrealistic." In other words: Akhenaten and Nefertiti are depicted with unprepossessing, ugly features in order to express a radically new concept of kingship and queenship, and the ugliness of the images is indicative of the intensity behind the new beliefs.

Such statements are often left standing alone, but Arnold provides support: The sculpture is "strange," and this strangeness is expressed by means that Egyptian sculptors were familiar with from other contexts. The features that she has described in such detail may be found in representations of people on the fringe of normal Egyptian society: old people, foreigners, herdsmen, who may have hollow cheeks, marked cheekbones, hooded eyes, and lines around the mouth.



Fig. 4.4 JE 98895 front view.

This point was repeated by Nicholas Reeves in 2001:[8] "a deliberate exaggeration of reality, almost a caricature, intended to emphasize pharaoh's other-worldly status and the yawning void which separated him from ordinary men." On the other hand, this distance from other human beings is drastically reduced when one becomes aware that they, too, show very similar features of face and body. The entire population of Thebes would seem to have been depicted on the Karnak talatat, and this is also the case later at Amarna, where hundreds of anonymous inhabitants invade temples and tombs alike.

The features of the colossi were echoed on some of the talatat. On the better-preserved examples at a reasonable scale it is evident that the focus is on the almond-shaped eyes, the elongated nose, full lips, and narrow, pointed chin, and even the labio-nasal fold and pierced earlobes are included.[9] However, the receding chin,

especially when observed without the beard, is less pronounced in relief than in the colossi.

R. Hamann, writing in 1944, considers the race of the king: "long and narrow face with sunken eyes, nervous features, all showing marks of overrefinement and overbreeding. Adding to this traits which we know from Tiyi and which make the face ungraceful, almost distorted . . . all in all a decadent, hideous hybrid *(Mischtyp)*." Yet he acknowledges that this style is full of moving form and refinement, elegant and repulsive at the same time (fig. 4.4).[10]

Walther Wolf was not taken in by the discordant features of the king when describing them in 1957: "The breasts have an almost female form, the belly is swollen, the thighs obese, arms and lower legs deliberately thin, the total impression being one of sickly ugliness and nervous decadence."[11] In his "handbook" of Egyptian archaeology from 1958, Jacques Vandier includes a brief paragraph on the Karnak years of Akhenaten, but most of it is actually taken up by an evaluation of the colossi.[12] Having at first called Amarna art as a whole "brutal," he goes on to paint a vivid picture of the sculptures:

> Everywhere one notices a predilection for exaggeration which in some way goes beyond realism, bordering on caricature, but caricature which testifies, as we shall see, to admirable art . . . . In spite of their outrageous character, they are admirable, and this disfiguring stylisation contains strokes of genius. If the face moves us, it is because it is, above all, human, because it expresses an intense inner life, made of sufferings and disillusions rather than joys, and which is translated as much in the striking architecture of the face as in the depth of the look and the bitterness of the mouth. In repudiating beauty, Akhenaten has gone beyond beauty and obtained true grandeur, that of a man prey to the thousand contradictions of nature.

In 1963 the fourth, revised edition of Heinrich Schäfer's fundamental work on Egyptian art was published, the earlier 1931 edition having made no specific reference to the colossi. Schäfer's stand is brief and clear: "Apart from Amenhotep IV, who had his and his family's unhealthy bodies shown in all their unattractive detail, there is hardly any king who shows a deviation from the body form thought to be ideal at the time."[13]

On the occasion of the Tutankhamun exhibition of 1967, when one of the heads traveled to Paris, Christiane Desroches Noblecourt described it as having "a faun-like air" and being "an aesthetic impression of a decadent and succinct elegance. It is attractive rather than repulsive, and its

morbidity makes it even more so from more seductive angles." She agrees that it may be thought of as a "*réalisme de cauchemar*" ('nightmare realism'), an expression apparently first used by Étienne Drioton.[14]

When in 1972 the Egyptian government presented the head and upper torso of one of the colossi to the Louvre (H27) in recognition of French efforts to save Abu Simbel and other temples in Nubia, Desroches Noblecourt undertook a thorough investigation of the fragments then known to her in Cairo and Karnak. She clearly distinguished between the head-dresses worn by the colossi and divided them into three groups:[15]

1. nemes, or *toile empesée*, covering the wig which falls in two heavy masses of little curls on either side of the neck (e.g., JE 49528, her fig. 24, our D9). No mention is made here of the double crown surmounting it. A variant with *toile empesée* covering the hair (that is, the normal nemes) is given as no. 47 (our E12, her figs. 20 and 23—the latter figure is not = no. 45, as stated in n. 1, p. 15, but also Karakôl no. 47).
2. short *toile empesée* (khat) with double crown.
3. double crown placed directly on the head. The faces of these are those that have suffered the most damage, as, e.g., JE 55938 (the 'sexless' one (H26) along with four others in Karnak storerooms (quoted as being Chevrier's 3, 4, 9, 10). This figure of four apparently refers to damaged faces, not to double crowns(?).

On the occasion of the Akhenaten and Nefertiti exhibitions in several cities in Germany in 1976 Wilfried Seipel wrote:[16]

> Even if several details of the royal face may be attributable to physiological reality, the overall form here devised by the sculptor, which surely stems from a royal concept, is a condensed representation bordering on an almost grotesque exaggeration of precisely defined individuality. It is the individuality of a man whose theological world view, while certainly not free from emotions, yet utterly abstract as a whole, has, in combination with an indomitable will to help the break-through, determined the image of an epoch.

He adds that the way in which the artist has combined the vertical lines of the lower half of the face with the narrow eyes and boldly curved, symmetrical eyebrows shows that, in spite of this formal treatment, he has succeeded in maintaining the striking individuality of his model, showing the mark of a true master (cf. fig. 4.5).



Fig. 4.05 Profile of JE 99065 (A10).

A year earlier, the exhibition had been shown in Brussels under the title "The Reign of the Sun." The catalog entries for the two colossi included were written by Roland Tefnin, whose bombastic, yet essentially perceptive comments on the colossi do not seem to have been quoted elsewhere. After discussing the ultimate destruction of the colossi (see page 21), Tefnin analyzes the king's face as it appears in one of the detached fragments G16 (figs. 2.31, 2.32):[17]

> Even today, this face . . . inspires a disturbing fascination. Just as the body transformed untenable contradictions into mystical intensity, this mask, elongated beyond any credibility, combines profound spiritual presence with a faun-like sensuality. The lower half of the face, the round, heavy chin, the full and protruding lips, and the quivering nostrils

express carnal vitality and sensual appetite, but the look seems to wink at the revelation of another mystery, and the elongated eyes centre upon a meditation which is far removed from everyday life. But if the face of Amenhotep IV encourages such a vision, a comparison between a head like this, produced in the very first years of the reign, with later and more moderate portraits found at Amarna is most significant. It reveals on the part of the artists who sculpted these colossal statues a whole process of interpretation of reality, of selection and accentuation of features in order to comply with the wish of the king to express through himself not only the image of a prophet touched by divine illumination but, beyond any doubt, the very image of god. The result is admirable in its intensity and analytical consistency. These artists were still Egyptians, and the new way of expression, however amazing, maintains the sense of pure form, the vibrating geometry which are the core qualities of Egyptian art of all periods. An analysis of this face from a sculptural point of view as a concerted ensemble of volume, lines and rhythms reveals an extremely simple structure. From the earthly, lower face an evolving rhythm conveys toward the gaze of the eyes a progressive dematerialisation. The chin and lower lip agree in their ponderous volume and swollen curves. The upper lip, though still heavy, outlines a bow-like shape which anticipates that of the tip of the nose and the nostrils, more refined and with more delicate curves. Springing forth from these fleshy masses the line of the nose, long and slender as a reed, continues uninterrupted into the tense arc of the eyebrows. Here, the volume becomes softer, the profile is less accentuated. The mass recedes giving way to the light which glides along the cheeks, collects in the folds of the eyelids and as a reflection of inner light lends a luminous quality to the pained expression. Only artists with exceptional sensitivity and in full command of their craft could attain such perfection. The young sculptors employed by Amenhotep IV for his first ventures gave to the service of the Aten dream a technical expertise nurtured in traditional workshops, but above all wondrous creative resources which are the most beautiful proof of the profound vitality of Egyptian art.

The second colossus fragment included in this exhibition (B4) elicited further interpretation from Tefnin:[18]

The knot of the arms crossed on the chest and of the hands grasping the emblems provides a measure of an intensity of being which subordinates

> physical energy to an extreme tension of spirit, for the limbs are thin, the pectoral muscles scarcely indicated and the collarbones visible under the flaps of the headdress. From this tensile network which by means of the sceptres articulates the entire torso the radiant form of the face emerges, drawn out by the long, slender beard, and displayed by the movement of the wings of the headdress which frames it like a halo. Egyptian art has often learned how to make good use of the nemes, this headdress which prolongs in pyramidal form the lines of the body and concentrates at the top, at the focus of the face, all the movement of the piece. These manifestations of the Unique God from whom all proceeds clearly could not abandon such an expressive element. Akhenaten's nemes, narrower than usual, is more obviously oblique, more suggestive of energy, and the tense curve of the folds at the temples corresponds to the unrealistic prolongation of the face . . . . However, this rigorous sculptural construction does not have as its prime objective, as in conventional statuary, the integration of the human into the order of architecture and thus into the order of the universe, as in traditional statuary. Far from still manifesting a moral structure, it concentrates in the focus of the individual the most vital light and points to the source of the radiance.

In 1995 Claude Vandersleyen placed the art of Akhenaten in its context with due respect to the first, important years at Thebes.[19] Amarna art at its beginnings is "the least realistic which Egypt had ever known." And he continues:

> This new vision applies to the royal family as well as to ordinary workers. It is moreover for the first temple, the Gempaaten, that the extraordinary colossal statues of the king were to be carved which caused such surprise, and even today the majority of spectators are left perplexed when confronted with these fantastic creations; one thinks that it is the image of a hideous being, or that the king has deliberately wished to make himself ugly, while in actual fact it is an artistic concept . . . a composition which confuses by its strangeness. The very "*médiatique*" formula, which consists in contrasting the ugliness of Amenhotep IV with the divine beauty of Nefertiti as she appears in the famous bust in Berlin is pure invention. In the most daring forms of the style, the king and the queen are equally caricatured to the point that in a fragmentary relief it is sometimes impossible to tell whether it shows the king or the queen . . . . These statues in their strange style, and then the entire production that was to derive from

> it, though less provoking, create such a lively contact with the mind of the spectator that, to many, Amarna art is the most alluring part of Egyptian art even though it is the least Egyptian.

In his 1999 study of the religion of Akhenaten, Erik Hornung briefly comments on the appearance of the colossi: "This art is a manneristic distortion of reality, a rebellion against the classical ideal of beauty established in Dynasty 18 . . . The contours of the human figure swell and recede, creating the rhythmic play of the overly swollen thighs and the scrawny, 'chicken-like' calves."[20]

Fragments of the colossi were studied by Rita Freed in 1999,[21] and she was able to provide new data on some of them. Some traces of color had been reported in previous publications, notably on the head now in the Louvre.[22] It has been confirmed in general terms by Freed that faces and lips were a reddish brown,[23] beards a "powder blue." Black was used for brows and cosmetic lines as well as for the iris, the inner and outer corners of the eye having a splash of red. The "lower Egyptian" crown was painted red (on the lower part of the double crown of the Louvre piece Desroches Noblecourt apparently saw yellow primer with red on top);[24] the nemes and khat had a yellow band at the base, surmounted by a thin red line, the stripes of the nemes being alternately blue/black and yellow. Loops on the hood of the uraeus were yellow with the internal space red. The flail showed traces of red. Blue was found inside some hieroglyphs (as already noted by Chevrier). Some colossi (for example, JE 49529 (A1)) wore a collar. This is suggested by a curved red line on the statue's right side from the armpit over the nipple and beneath the crossed crook and flail. Red and blue pigment survived on the apron and belt. This corresponds more or less to the conventional palette.

The colossi were not identically conceived. Apart from the obvious differences in headgear there are subtle distinctions in the treatment of the face. Freed noticed this in the degree of elongation of the head, the angle of the eyes (oblique/horizontal), and their openness, as well as the variations in the droop of the lower lip and the shape of the ear piercing, which may vary on one and the same head. In addition to these facial details, the shape and position of the nipples showed some variations. In some cases the nipple was absent. Freed attributes these variations to the fact that different artisans were at work, a reasonable assumption considering the number of colossi produced (not to mention other sculptures). The attempts at repositioning the body parts now missing from the colossus in

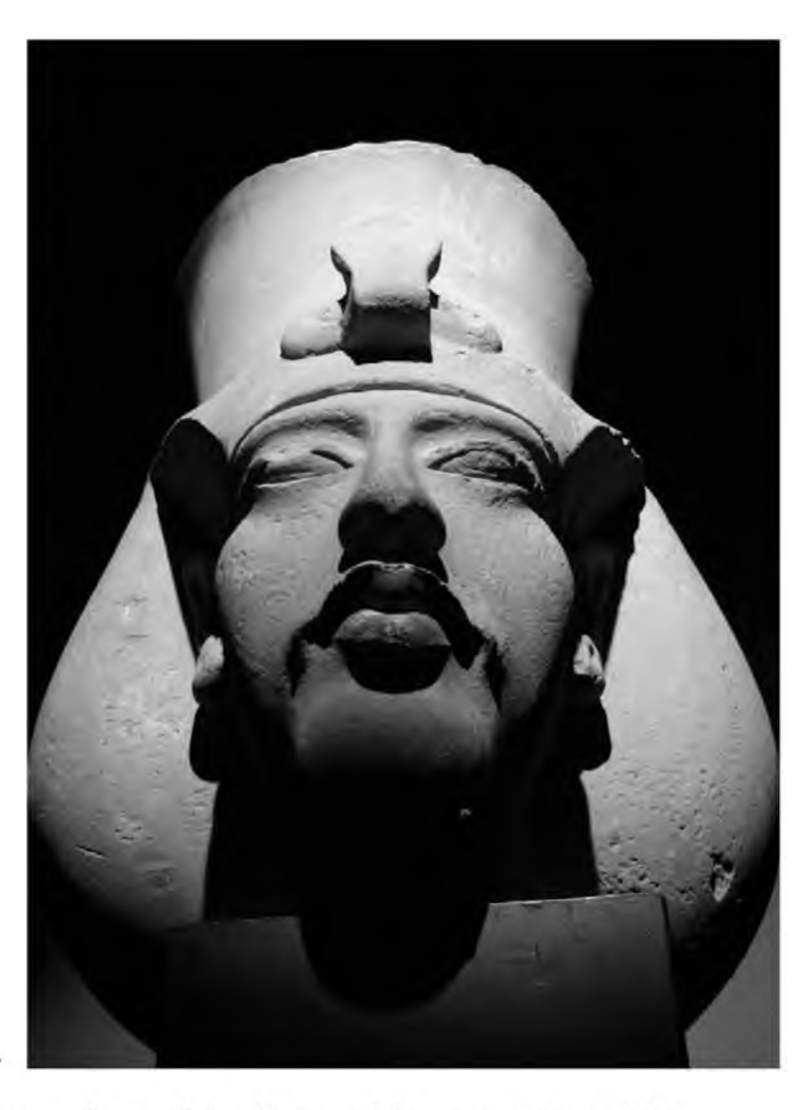


Fig. 4.6 The Alexandria head (A2) seen from below.

the Louvre (H27) and comparisons with other surviving torsos (especially H26, K38, K50) revealed differences in the positions of the arms and the angles of the elbows.

The Point of the Observer

Nicholas Reeves observes that "when seen from below the peculiar distortion of the king's face is far less apparent, the impression is one of unadulterated power."[25] Colossi of any period were never meant to be seen face to face, and in the case of Amenhotep III the artists allowed for this, for example in the angle of the eyeball and the exaggerated size of the upper lip.

A number of the colossi have been photographed and published—and hence become familiar to readers—as seen face-to-face at eye level. This was never the original intention. Over the past ten years Dimitri Laboury has studied the colossi and other sculptures of Akhenaten and has noticed how the larger ones have their ears set with the upper edge above the level



Fig. 4.7 JE 49528 (A9) seen from below.

of the eyes to compensate for the visual distortion when they were seen from below (cf. figs. 4.6, 4.7).[26] A keyword here is 'parallax,' a Greek word designating "the apparent displacement or the difference in apparent direction of an object as seen from two different points not on a straight line with an object."[27] Laboury has calculated that in order for the ears and eyes of the colossi to be level, one would have to be positioned at a distance of 17 cubits from the statue. This allows for the height of the colossi including the pedestal, dimensions of one of which (L59) were provided by Rita Freed. The ideal distance would thus be a point in the courtyard 8.925m north of the colossi and rows of pillars. Excavations have not revealed whether there was anything of interest here, and we do not know if it was of any relevance at all. This awareness of the parallax is apparent in monumental sculpture earlier in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and it can also be seen in the fragmentary sculptures of Akhenaten from Amarna.

A 2008 article by Valerie Angenot continues along these lines,[28] emphasizing the placement of the viewer, while taking into consideration many of the issues also set out in Chapters 3 and 5 of the present work.[29] Otherwise the colossi would appear to conform to the twenty-square grid of two-dimensional representations. "Is it possible that the Egyptians . . . of the 18th dynasty had embarked on the task of playing with our senses exploiting the physiological subjectivity of our point of view? Is it possible that the adjustment of the material constraints connected with the execution of colossal statues could be the reason for certain distortions in the physiognomy of the king?" The colossi were devised to be viewed from below, and any 'distortion,' while serving the purpose of being a means to an end, would have been dissolved. From being a haggard, elongated face with a prominent chin it becomes full and well proportioned with an almost benevolent smile—the image of the king has become transfigured.[30] Angenot suggests that, as an embodiment of the king's new divine essence after his sed-festival, it was the colossi with their optical corrections that inspired all subsequent two-dimensional representations of the king (where such adjustments would strictly speaking not have been required).

The point of view is of significance for an understanding of the artistic concepts behind the colossi. One may ask if it also has a more practical relevance. Betsy Bryan has pondered who the audience for the statuary of Amenhotep III might have been, and her answer is a surprising "everyone." "Gargantuan statues persuasively conveyed Amenhotep III's power—images so much larger than life that they were visible to every man, woman and child within sight of his mortuary temple, Luxor Temple, Karnak temple, and the temple to Thoth at el-Ashmunein."[31] The difference would be that the colossi of Akhenaten were positioned inside a court, and after the building was completed they would not have been visible from outside, the propaganda effect being wasted on the majority of the population.[32] In this respect we are back where we began this chapter. Who was the audience for Akhenaten's teaching? If we are to believe the representations of the Aten temples on the walls of the tombs of high officials at Amarna, only the royal family and temple staff had any reason to go inside the perimeter wall. The general public observed the royal family in real life during their processions from the palace to the temple. They would not have seen the colossi at all.

Chapter 5

Pathology

Marc Gabolde, writing in 1998, described the Karnak colossi as being the most "unrealistic" examples of the art of the Amarna period. "The physical characteristics of the king have been accentuated to the point of caricature, but the person remains perfectly identifiable, and even in the most extreme images the essential details of the particular physiognomy of Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten [which Gabolde has listed previously] have been rendered with scrupulous care." The difficulty is to determine whether or not they relate to a pathological condition.[1]

This problem would be closer to a solution if we had Akhenaten's body for comparison. The only likely candidate among the royal mummies so far recovered has been the decayed body found in KV55.[2] A recent summary of the options for the identity of this individual was given by Wolfgang Helck in his last work, completed in 1992 but published posthumously in 2001.[3] Only the skull remained in fair condition.[4] He—and this is the final verdict on the sex—was a male of rather fragile constitution, with the same blood group as Tutankhamun and the infamous lock of hair found in the latter's tomb, around 1.54–1.65m tall and aged twenty to twenty-five. No deformity was apparent in the remains; nothing that would prove that the age estimate could be deceptive. Artifacts present in KV55 suggest that it might have been Akhenaten, or that those who buried him and those who disturbed the burial believed that it was. The only thing to be said about it relevant to an investigation of likeness (or not) is that this piece of human evidence shows no indications of physical deformity. In actual fact we are none the wiser, for the estimated age of the mummy as given does not tie in with historical data.

Members of the medical profession have found the case of Akhenaten irresistible and have often been quoted by Egyptologists.[5] In

1984 Redford wrote, "It may well be that he [the king] was intentionally kept in the background because of a congenital ailment which made him hideous to behold . . . . Of late the experts have tended to identify his problem with some sort of endocrine disorder in which secondary sex characteristics failed to develop, and eunuchoidism resulted."[6] More drastic was the suggestion put forward as early as 1855 by Mariette who, on the basis of representations then available from Amarna, took the king's unusual appearance to have been caused by his having suffered emasculation by the hands of Sudanese captors during a raid into that region.[7]

In 1912, still before the colossi were discovered, Karl Abraham, a disciple of Sigmund Freud, credited the king with having an Oedipus complex. This was taken up by James Strachey in 1939, now with reference to the 'sexless' colossus.[8] We appear to be indebted to P.E. Newberry for attributing homosexual inclinations to the king,[9] an idea often repeated in literature of the late 1920s and early 1930s—first with disapproval, then tacitly accepted—to which have been added comments on his alleged incestuous relationships with both his mother and his daughters.[10] These ideas would have been provoked primarily by the appearance of the king in his representations, but also by his behavior—with special reference to a little stela showing two royal persons caressing and a scene supposedly showing the lying in state of one of the princesses after dying in childbirth.

In 1912 Grafton Elliot Smith interpreted the mummy in KV55, found in 1907, as that of Akhenaten.[11] "The mummy . . . was not rewrapped. It had not been plundered, but was found in its original wrappings, upon which were gold bands bearing the name of Khouniatonou . . . . Thus we have the most positive evidence that these bones are the remains of Khouniatonou."[12] A careful examination of the skeleton gave an indication of the age at death and also revealed a certain enlargement of the skull. In a second publication of 1923 this identification was repeated, and he added a further comment on the king's physique.[13] He proposed the condition "dystocia adiposo-genitalis" (clearly an error for dystrophia adiposo-genitalis), Fröhlich's syndrome,[14] a pituitary disorder, identified by the beginning of the twentieth century, of which the symptoms are, among others, hydrocephalus and an overgrowth of the mandible, features which he believed were to some degree present in the body from KV55, as well as adiposity in the region of the breasts, abdomen, pubis, thighs, and buttocks. Elliot Smith voices severe criticism of an article that had appeared in a scientific medical journal in 1920 where

the authors base their alternative diagnosis (lipodystrophy, loss of body fat in the subcutaneous tissues) solely on representations of the king, not on the mummy.[15] Elliot Smith's diagnosis was supported by Cyril Aldred in 1961 and 1962.[16] However, in view of the fact that Fröhlich's syndrome causes infertility, Aldred later rejected it. "While . . . explanations of a theological rather than a pathological nature seem to underlie the bizarre aspects that Akhenaten adopted for representing the members of the royal family in the early sculptures of his reign, why they should also be almost exact illustrations of subjects suffering from Fröhlich's syndrome remains not the least of the enigmas which his reign has bequeathed us."[17]

In 1947 Paul Ghalioungui, a medical man and author of several books and articles on ancient Egyptian medicine, had devoted a lengthy article to the case of Akhenaten in which he was reluctant to commit himself on the evidence provided from the (in his opinion) as yet unidentified mummy, and hence relied on representations of the king in order to come to terms with the king's appearance, which "partakes of both sexes and is distinctive of none."[18] His interpretations are erroneous and dated, but he is the only one to have made the observation (in relation to one of the private altars) that "the king looks precociously senile and ugly, a queer mixture of boyishness and old age."[19] This may be kept in mind when considering the discussion of the identity of the colossi, in particular with regard to the issue of 'age' (see Chapter 3).

The discussion eventually reached the distinguished medical journal *The Lancet* in a roundabout way. The journal had featured some contributions in relation to the physique of Tutankhamun and in particular to his breasts. In the 27 January 1973 issue, a J.D. Swales wrote:

> The medical historian (clinical) should bear in mind, however, that such abnormalities [as Tutankhamun's allegedly feminine breasts] are mild compared with those shown by representations of his immediate predecessor, Akhenaten, who is represented in such a grotesque and effeminate form that the diagnosis of Fröhlich's syndrome has been entertained. Even more worrying for the retrospective diagnostician, members of Akhenaten's entourage (e.g., Bek, the Master of Works), are also shown as having female breast development which greatly exceeds that of Tutankhamun. Whilst close in-breeding was common, it seems improbable to say the least that pathological feminisation had reached such epidemic proportions in the New Kingdom.

In 1993 Alwyn L. Burridge reviewed the diagnosis of Fröhlich's syndrome point by point and proposed a different medical explanation, one which is in closer agreement with the characteristic appearance of the king in his representations: Marfan's syndrome, first described in 1896 by Antoine Marfan, a French pediatrician.[20] The symptomatology can be summarized as follows:

- tall stature, slender bones, long face, high palate, narrowly spaced teeth
- elongated extremities, slender spidery fingers and toes
- arm span exceeds height
- spinal abnormalities (exaggerated angulation of the neck and spine)
- curvature of the spine (congenital absence of one half of a vertebra)
- funnel chest or pigeon chest
- prominent shoulder blades, prominent clavicle
- wide pelvic girdle
- deficiency and often localized distribution of subcutaneous fat
- hypermobility of joints, backward curvature of the knee in normal stance, flat feet
- abnormally elongated skull
- visual impairment
- chin protrudes beyond the forehead when viewed in profile
- deformity of outer ears
- hypogenitalism (though not usually infertile)
- connective tissue weakness and hernias, defective development of tissue
- cardiovascular weakness and dissecting aortic aneurysm as the usual cause of death

It is of additional interest that it takes only one parent to pass on the disorder, and that, statistically speaking, it would be repeated in 50 percent of the offspring.

We shall revert to the question of Akhenaten's eyes in a separate paragraph below. Although the proposal by Burridge meets a number of points that may be observed in representations of Akhenaten and, to some extent, other contemporary individuals, it has not met with unanimous approval. In her studies on proportion and style in Egyptian art, Gay Robins has undertaken a detailed analysis of the components of Akhenaten's body.[21] On testing Burridge's hypothesis, she was not convinced.[22] Not only are limbs of Amarna standing figures shorter than those of traditional figures compared to body stature, but there is no elongation of the legs and thus

no evidence for Marfan's syndrome in that respect, the elongation being in the trunk of the body. Another obstacle in interpreting the king's representations lies literally in the fact that the standard features and the proportions of his representations vary among themselves. In standing figures his legs are shorter than in seated figures; the size of his head may vary; and in earlier figures the lower border of the buttocks is placed at a higher level than in later examples. Having also considered the volume of Akhenaten's skull and its variations, Robins concludes that

> if Akhenaten's new image ultimately reflected something of what he looked like in life, it plainly cannot have done so exactly. Thus, we cannot know which aspects might have reflected how he looked, which might have been modified, and which might even have been entirely symbolic . . . . It is . . . a futile pastime to use Akhenaten's various images as a basis for precise medical diagnosis.

Erik Hornung, writing in 1971, had viewed the incongruous elements of Akhenaten's body in the context of Egyptian representation:[23]

> In his dogmatic way, Akhenaten would never have restricted himself to a mere rendering of reality without lending it a sense and purpose corresponding to the overall structure of his dogma concerning the Aten and his prophet. A pathological interpretation of royal representation thus does not invalidate the need for an ideological interpretation . . . . The harsh juxtaposition of ascetic, pensive head, emaciated throat and voluptuous body transgresses the border of aesthetic appreciation. But why delve into the far corners of medical explanations?

The Egyptians were accustomed to odd combinations of heads and bodies: the early versions of Akhenaten's god had a falcon's head on a human body. The new phenomenon, according to Hornung, was that the transition from head to body was not, as before, veiled by the volume of a wig.[24] Perhaps we may paraphrase by saying that Akhenaten's body as represented is an aesthetic paradox. With the addition of some ten colossus heads wearing the double crown without khat or nemes it would seem that the use of the latter two was not an aesthetic consideration primarily aimed at masking this transition.

In addition to interpreting the rendering of the king's face (above, pages 127–29), Roland Tefnin in 1975 also advocated a less realistic approach to the appearance of the body of the colossi:[25]

> One cannot but be struck first by their strange physique, by the contrast between the rounded hips, heavy stomach and fleshy thighs and the gaunt torso with protruding collarbones, the long, curved throat marked with wrinkles, and the almost emaciated face. In the context of an osirid pillar the form is a deliberate paradox, combining against all expectations the full and the angular, the feminine and the masculine, tenderness and energy, matter and spirit. It is probable that Akhenaten was not of athletic build and that, to compensate, he was by disposition inclined towards reverie, meditation and the assertion of his inner being, but these intense, shocking and fascinating works of art transcend any mere translation (of physical form). Like the admirable hymns to the Aten they express the mystical impulse, the irrational transport towards God, the source of all life . . . . Akhenaten must have perceived in his own physique the stigmata of the divine and have ordained his sculptors to exaggerate his strangeness beyond all credibility to allow God to become incarnate in his image. Disengaged from a too realistic humanity, these statues are worthy of embodying the most sublime message, they are the disturbing sign of transcendency.

Jean Lauffray, director of the Centre franco-égyptien during the period that the majority of talatat were extracted from the Ninth Pylon, in 1979 offers additional comments on the king's mental and physical health that should also be borne in mind here:

> Let us return to (the king's) physical aspect, at least to the one that the artists credit him with, especially at the beginning of the reign: emaciated face, narrow shoulders, pendulous stomach, well-developed pelvis, spindly legs, elongated skull. We find such peculiarities in certain of our Nubian workers, who are not therefore mentally abnormal. This morphology may have been exaggerated for the sake of realism or in pursuit of expressionism to become a canon reserved for certain themes. Members of the court, represented potbellied and with elongated skulls like that of the king, would not all have had this morphology, any more than all the women at the turn of the century had hourglass figures and full bottoms as they are shown in etchings in vogue at the time.[26]

Already in 1930 G.P.G. Sobhy, a physician in Cairo, had demonstrated that the features of Akhenaten might be reflected in the faces of some present-day Egyptians. His examination of a patient (who was admitted suffering from tuberculosis) showed that his sexual organs were "of

normal development" and that his endocrine glands all appeared to work normally, the pituitary gland in particular showing no deviations from normal. "The importance of this finding is to show the persistence of the type of Akhenaten in Egypt, and that there is no need at all to resort to any pathological theory to explain the rather extraordinary shape of the king's features." Discounting the possibility of diagnosing Fröhlich's syndrome without an examination of the patient in the flesh, he adds that "the conformation of the body observable in the statues, particularly the exaggeration of the size of the breasts, can be seen today amongst living Egyptians who tend to become obese."[27] A rather striking profile photograph of the young man is included.

In 1994 Arramon and Crubezy produced yet another medical suggestion:[28] Barraquer–Simons syndrome, which causes fat in the upper part of the body to 'dissolve,' while it increases in the abdominal region and thighs. It is an extremely rare affliction transmitted through the female line, and as an additional characteristic it increases a furrow running from nostrils to outer corner of the lips, as often seen in Amarna art. Gabolde, who quotes this reference, is attracted by it but voices a number of questions that need to be answered with regard to its implications.[29]

The latest bid for a clinical explanation for the physique of Akhenaten and his relatives has come in 2009 from Redford and two medical experts, Irwin M. Braverman and Philip A. Mackowiak.[30] They purport to see in the king's "bizarre physical features" (especially their enlarged breasts and cranial abnormalities) an affliction which was shared by other members of the Eighteenth Dynasty, identifying it as either 1) aromatase excess syndrome and the sagittal craniosynostosis syndrome or 2) a variant of the Antley-Bixler syndrome. Aromatase excess syndrome produces in men gynecomastia (female breasts),[31] a eunuchoid habitus with normal fertility, and in women isosexual precocity and sometimes macromastia (enlarged breasts). A medical explanation for the characteristic shape of heads, not just in the Amarna period but also earlier in the dynasty, may be found in "a second familial disorder associated with a cranial and possibly cervical spine abnormality." The Antley-Bixler syndrome is a rare genetic disorder with similar abnormalities. It is suggested that a combination of the two could have been caused by "a novel mutation in one of the genes controlling the P450 enzymes that regulate steroidogenesis, which resulted in excessive rather than deficient and abnormal cranial bone formation." In the summary of the article, the word "novel" is replaced by "yet-to-be-discovered." The theory prompted an immediate response from a member of the medical profession who found it "unlikely."[32]

In order to assess the significance of the appearance of Akhenaten as rendered in the colossi and elsewhere, it is important to establish the parameters on which rest the arguments for a physical abnormality versus a symbolic representation. These have recently been summed up by J.R. Harris:

> Unfortunately, the Karnak colossi are central to the controversy, together with some of the more 'extreme' reliefs and, from a different angle, the body in KV55. The principal features that fuel the argument are the shape of the skull, the eyes, the jaw, the neck and collarbones, the breast(s), the belly, the thighs—all of which (bar the shape of the skull) are exemplified by the colossi. For the sake of comparison it would be useful to check these various features with what remains of some other 'sets' of statuary, such as the offering figures from the great temple at el-Amarna, and those attached to the boundary stelae . . . . Much of the argument, of course, predates the suggestion that the 'sexless' colossus [figs. 2.45, 2.46] is actually Nefertiti, and this is now crucial, since all the principal features noted above are common to both the Amenhotpe IV and Nefertiti figures. This argues strongly in favour of symbolic representation—the more so if Nefertiti was an outsider (e.g,. Tadukhepa) with no connection to the royal house. It is fairly clear, I think, that most of the medical/physical abnormality suggestions are open to serious objections (in many cases that Amenhotpe IV would have been impotent), and the body in KV55 remains controversial. Equally controversial are arguments based on, or involving, alleged relationships, as in the Braverman, Redford, Mackowiak piece, which, by the way, appears to ignore the genetically 'outsider' status of Tiy. [33]

An examination of other examples of multiple sculptures on a large scale, as suggested by Harris, is hampered by the fact that it has only survived in fragments (from the great temple at Amarna) or in a much-battered state (boundary stelae). The former[34] share the prominent collarbones and, if depicting the king as suggested by the male kilt, the rounded breasts (and, in an isolated fragment, the full lips). The figures of the king and queen flanking the boundary stelae all have prominent belly and thighs as well as rounded breasts.[35] In both groups Nefertiti wears a pleated garment, not a smooth one as in the Karnak colossus.

An additional point of view should be mentioned here, more for its context of publication than for the substance of its argumentation. In 1997

an article by Winnie Brant appeared in a collective work on the subject of "Gender Blending." The author proposed to see Akhenaten as a "transgendered male."[3]

Writing in 1989, before the publication of Burridge's proposal, Russmann assessed the situation as follows:

> The real problem is that diagnoses of this kind are based on false premises. They arise from modern perceptions and preoccupations—from scientifically oriented curiosity and from our irresistible tendency to assume that distinctive features must, like a photograph, mirror an actual appearance. Akhenaten's concerns, of course, were entirely different. In departing radically from the styles of earlier royal representations, statues like this were visible, calculated manifestations of his departures from traditional belief. We can be sure that this figure somehow embodies his concept of his own majesty and divinity. It is a fair guess that Akhenaten really looked odd and that he possessed these physical characteristics to some degree. Since his mummy was apparently destroyed not long after burial, we will probably never know for sure. But whatever their relation to his actual appearance, this statue [JE 49529] and the other representations of Akhenaten at Karnak are deliberately unrealistic. They are exaggerations, abstractions, designed on the king's orders, to suit his purposes. The evidence is unequivocal.[37]

Akhenaten's Eyes

Traces of color remain on the eyes: brows and cosmetic lines were lined in black. The iris was a large black circle, and the inner and outer corners of the eye had a splash of red.[38] This is quite conventional for painted eyes. A minor detail with potentially significant consequences was first noticed by Desroches Noblecourt in 1972 on studying the colossus now in the Louvre (H27): "The eyes seem half closed and it is beyond discussion that the figure is looking downwards. This expression is underlined in the extremely acute way in which the artist has taken care to make apparent—and this is new—a kind of false membrane which goes beyond the lower lid near the two corners of the eyes closest to the nose, an indication of organs sensitive to light."[39] This was also picked up by Rita Freed in 1999: "The angle of the eyes varies from oblique to nearly horizontal, and the eyes also vary in their degree of openness . . . . Many [images] show a recutting of the inner eye area toward the bottom, as if the eyes as originally planned were narrower [quoting Alexandria, our



Fig. 5.1 Akhenaten's eyes in the Alexandria head (A2).

C6, and the head in the Louvre, our H27]. Others were left with unretouched, narrow eyes [quoting our B3]."[40] Freed thus sees this anomaly as a sculptor's correction, whereas Desroches Noblecourt takes it as being indicative of a medical condition. One may also mention here the comment by Arnold quoted above: "The king peers, as if shortsighted, through narrowly slit eyes that are hooded by heavy, angularly banded upper lids." Heads showing the particular treatment of the lower eyelid can be summed up as follows: A2 (fig. 5.1), C6, D8, D10, G14, G15, H22, and H27.

It is interesting to dwell for a moment on the possibility of the king's eyesight being below par. If this was indeed the case, it might go some way toward explaining why the king came to be obsessed with a 'religion of light.' Marfan's syndrome, referred to above, would in many cases entail an

> "ocular oddity" known as Enophthalmos: the eyes appear slit-like, being deeply recessed in the eyesockets due to a lack of fatty tissues behind the orbit. . . . If Akhenaten had Marfan's syndrome, he was most likely blind for most of his adult life. One of the most common afflictions of the Marfanoid disorder is Ectopia Lentis, a condition in which the connective structures that hold the lens of the eye in place become weak and the lens floats upward within the orbit causing poor visual acuity. Nowhere in his art is his quest for exactitude more compelling

than in the representations of his eyes. His corneas appear abnormally cone-shaped, a condition called Keratoconus [reference here to Karnak colossus JE 49529 (A1)]. This is a rare degenerative and progressive disease that begins to appear in the second decade of life and is well linked to Marfan's. Its presence in a patient is sufficient to alert ophthalmologists to insist on further physical examinations in all who exhibit this symptom.[41]

Burridge goes on to suggest that the fact that the king is often shown holding hands with his mother and wife may be a sign of his failing eyesight, and that the dramatic architectural changes introduced by Akhenaten in his temples to the Aten could perhaps have come about from real physiological needs: with limited vision he may not have been able to navigate in the traditionally dark 'Holy of Holies.'

It would be relevant in this context also to consider the shabti-figures of the king with their 'sfumato' eyes[42] which have the appearance either of a closed eye or of the eye of a fetus—an eye that is not a normal, fully developed eye (fig. 5.2). A similar treatment of the eye occurs on a number of statuettes, originally set up by Tutankhamun between the paws of sphinxes at Karnak, apparently first made for Akhenaten and Nefertiti,[43] but it can also be seen on shabtis of private individuals of the Amarna period,[44] and on the Berlin stela of Bak, the sculptor.[45] For this reason the eye in itself can hardly be indicative of an affliction on the part of the king.

It is a fact that some exceedingly strange notions of vision were developing in Amarna at this time. Blindness is recorded in texts and pictures before, as well as after, the Amarna period.[46] It may be caused by impairment of vision or damage to or removal of the eyeball itself. The Egyptian language had terms for both conditions, and the legendary 'blind harpist' may be represented with a perfectly normal eye that does not reveal his predicament, or with a damaged eye (the head being always represented in profile, with only one eye visible). The imperfection would be indicated by the eye being reduced to a slit as if almost closed, or by the socket being rendered as shrunken. There are examples of representations of both types of damaged eyes from Amarna-related contexts.[47] In addition to such cases, some musicians are depicted in a state of temporary blindness in that a white band has been tied over their eyes (fig. 5.3). They occur in quantity both on the Karnak talatat and in scenes depicted in the tombs of high officials at Amarna. The blindfold appears exclusively on men, regardless



Fig. 5.2 Shabti-figure of Akhenaten.

of whether they are foreign musicians or Egyptians. Most often they wear it while performing, whereas when they are bowing to the king it has been pushed up. The setting is exclusively the royal palace—musicians in the temple have permanently damaged eyes and no blindfold.

The reason for this temporary blindness should be taken as symbolic rather than as a social convention influenced by more recent concepts of decorum (as, for example, regarding the presence of women in the room). There is ample reason to believe that acts depicted as taking place in the royal palace are of a ritual nature in spite of the fact that the accoutrements have been borrowed from otherwise secular contexts. They are primarily concerned with food and with music and thus have an immediate parallel to rituals in the temple: the transmission of offerings to the deity. In the Amarna temples, the musicians are only present and performing in the temple when the king is absent, as if they were substitutes for the king, singing in praise of the Aten when the king had duties elsewhere (fig. 5.4). Their blindness would assure them the anonymity and invisibility required for such an intimate encounter with the deity—this concept being transferred to the male musicians performing for the king, the queen, and the Aten in the palace setting. Because of their sex, rather than in spite of it, women had always been granted closer proximity. This also applied to Queen Nefertiti vis-à-vis the Aten.[48]

It ought to be considered whether temporary blindness could also be a reference to a non-permanent condition that afflicts everyone: the inability to see at night. The great hymn to the Aten describes the world at this time:

> Whenever you set in the western horizon,
> the land is in darkness in the manner of death.
> They sleep in a bedroom with heads under the covers,
> and one eye cannot see the other . . .

When you have gone
[no eye] can exist,
for you have created their sight
so that you (yourself) are not seen
(except by your) sole [son] whom you have made.[49]

The world is dead, but it is a period of gestation that precedes new activities at dawn when the life-giving rays of the Aten create the world anew. By his movements the Aten controls when humankind is allowed to see him. His life during the night is dark and mysterious and inaccessible to the living. The only one who has the privilege of seeing the Aten at all times, it is implied, is the king, his only son.

The emphasis on ritual blindness in the Amarna period may stand on its own, but on the other hand it may have been inspired by possible impaired vision on the part of the king. This may have led to a greater awareness of the opposite of light, the darkness of the night, to the extent that this was specifically included as a theme in the hymn to the sun. The ability to see the sun in the dark was mercifully granted to the king. Ordinary mortals, when catapulted into the darkness of death, could only pray for it to happen, but this is expressed in the future tense, not, as in the case of the king, as an established fact in the past tense.[50] The oddity in the details of the king's eyes, emphasized by the presence of the 'membrane' in some of the colossi, could have as its cause some of the notions presented here. That some of the colossi showing this peculiarity, and also the head just mentioned, may represent the queen does not deflect from the validity of the argument when taken as yet another example of the equal status of the royal couple.



Fig. 5.3 Blindfolded musicians at Karnak.



Fig 5.4 Blind musicians performing in the Aten temple at Amarna.

In the past, the pathology of Akhenaten has been interpreted chiefly through his representations, but it is a continued subject of interest. The identity of the body in KV55 remains controversial. It was known to share the same blood group as the mummy of Tutankhamun along with cranial dimensions slightly above average. It is possible that the king suffered from some affliction that made him stand apart from the rest of the population, and that this strangeness was exaggerated in art with some symbolic significance. The results of DNA tests, published in February 2010,[51] did not reveal any trace of Marfan's syndrome in the body of the mummy from KV55, but it must be remembered that it is a skeleton rather than a mummy. On the other hand, the analysis confirmed an affinity with the mummy of Tutankhamun to the extent that there was no hesitation in suggesting that it was a case of a father–son relationship. The pelvis "does not show feminine traits after reconstruction using computed tomography." The question of the age at death of the KV55 mummy remains open to debate, and the published material reveals little of the reasons for proposing "35–45 years." The conclusion to be drawn on the basis of available research points to the fact that the appearance of Akhenaten, in the colossi and elsewhere, is rather to be sought in stylistic and ideological criteria.[52]

Notes

Notes to Chapter 1

1 Chevrier 1926, p. 121.

2 Pillet 1961, esp. pp. 88–91.

3 An illustrated overview by D.C. Forbes ("pictorial essay") on the discovery of the colossi can be found in Forbes 1994 (with certain inaccuracies). Cf. also an article by the present author (in Danish), Manniche 2007.

4 Chevrier 1926, p. 119.

5 Chevrier 1926, pp. 121 and 125.

6 See Redford's excavation report, Redford 1977.

7 Chevrier 1926, p. 121.

8 Redford 1977, p. 19.

9 Chevrier 1926, pp. 121–27 (covering 28 March–10 May 1926); cf. Redford 1977, pp. 18ff. The photograph in Chevrier 1926, pl. I, though not very clear, shows some of the colossi as found, looking east.

10 Chevrier 1926, p. 122.

11 Chevrier 1926, p. 122.

12 So also Redford 1973, p. 85 referring to "the 18 westernmost bases of an east–west line of colossi facing north," but addressing the question of bases versus piers in the following paragraph.

13 Redford 1973, p. 85, interprets this as "a wall runs parallel with the east–west line, 1.70 m. behind (i.e., to the south of) the statues" (as opposed to p. 86: "this wall was encountered 1.70m below the level of the 'bases'"). At this stage, before his own excavation work began, Redford thought (ibid.) that this wall might not perhaps be connected with the statues. In his excavation report (Redford 1977), the situation has been clarified: "an east–west row of colossal statues of Akhenaten set against piers and backed (to the south) by a wall of talatat."

14 Redford 1977, pp. 20–21 with n. 53: "His (*sc.* Chevrier's) plan is in error and his verbal description misleading." Cf. Redford's plan fig. 7:2 and pl. VII, 1, 2.

15 For excavations in the area to the south of Akhenaten's building (including the discovery of the temenos wall) see Redford 1981a, pp. 243ff., especially pp. 255–60.

16 Reeves 2001, p. 95.

17 Chevrier 1926, p. 124. His pl. II probably refers to the beautiful statue.

18 Chevrier 1927, pp. 143–47 (covering November 1926).

19 Cf. the later photographs taken during the Redford re-excavations in Redford 1977, pl. V,4.

20 Redford 1973, p. 85 n. 41.

21 All references to a 'red crown' should be taken as referring to the lower part of a double crown, as in the colossi there is no evidence of either the red or the white crown alone; cf. further below, Chapter 3.

22 Chevrier 1927, p. 145.

23 Cf. a similar photograph, taken at a slightly different angle but obviously at the same time, in Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 34 on p. 54.

24 Amadio 2006, p. 82.

25 See, however, below for the latest work carried out by Edwin Brock.

26 Chevrier 1927, p. 146.

27 Following this, Chevrier mentions finds from the area east of the drain (head 11 with beautiful mask, front torso of 12 and head 13 with double crown, then back part of head of 14 and a much destroyed head 15). This numbering does not follow any previous numbering system, and it is uncertain whether in fact it refers to work carried out the previous season. It would have been a problem that a season spanned two halves of two calendar years.

28 Chevrier 1929, pp. 144–45 (no dates given apart from 'this year,' i.e., the 1928–29 season).

29 Chevrier 1929, p. 144.

30 Chevrier 1930, pp. 168–69 (the 1929–30 season).

31 Chevrier 1930, p. 169.

32 Chevrier 1930, p. 169.

33 Chevrier 1931, pl. IV, cf. p. 97.

34 Chevrier 1931, p. 97.

35 Chevrier 1932, p. 112.

36 Chevrier 1933, pp. 176–77.

37 Chevrier 1936, pp. 141–43. Cf. a similar fragment in Sheikh Labib (K47) and another recently found in the eastern part of the temple by E. Brock. Could this be the one left behind by Chevrier?

38 Chevrier 1936, pp. 141–42.

39 On consulting the site on earth.google.com it is apparent that the barren area eats into the village on the axis of the Nectanebo gate. This must be where Chevrier extended his excavations after the expropriations.

40 Chevrier 1937, p. 193. In a note (Redford 1973, p. 78, n. 4) Redford suggests that the absence of finds during Chevrier's later campaigns may be put down to inadequate site supervision.

41 Chevrier 1953, p. 12 and pl. VIII.

42 Redford 1977, pp. 9–32; Redford 1981, pp. 243–62. Cf. also Redford 1978, pp. 100–10 with a suggested reconstruction of a colossus against a pier and

wall behind on p. 108; for a popular account see Redford 1984, chapter 5; and, for an overview of the results, Redford 1994, pp. 485–92 and Redford 1999, pp. 50–59.

43 Redford 1973, pp. 77–94 for an initial report; Redford 1975; and two publications so far: Smith and Redford 1976 and Redford 1988.

44 Redford 1985, p. 222. Cf. a granite base and head found reused in the precinct of Mut: van Dijk 2008, pp. 246–50. The statue of which these blocks formed a part was of roughly the same size as our sandstone colossi.

45 Redford 1981a, p. 260 and Redford 1985, p. 210 (the stone of this latter is not specifically mentioned, but in a personal communication on 28 May 2009 it was confirmed to be sandstone).

46 Redford 1999, p. 56. In Redford 1981a, pp. 255–57, he interpreted the bricks as coming from an undulating wall (so also Redford 1984, fig. 10 on p. 103 and p. 105) and the colossi as having been "thrown flat on their faces into the court." However, in Redford 1994, p. 485 he says that the southwest corner "had escaped the demolition of Horemheb . . . and this marginally better preservation was because before the wrecking crew had had a chance to complete their work a massive mud-brick wall of some building to the south of the temple had collapsed northward into the court in a great conflagration. The result was that the statues had fallen forward, and the stumps of piers and a layer of talatat debris c. 50–75 cm thick had been trapped beneath the falling mud brick."

47 Oral communication, Cambridge, 16 October 2004. Redford returned to the site in 2006 (personal communication, 28 May 2009), but nothing relevant to Akhenaten appears to have been found.

48 Personal communication, 9 June 2009.

Notes to Chapter 2

1 Regrettably, access to the basement of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo was denied by the Museum. Some of the fragments in the basement were seen by Rita Freed in 1998 in connection with preparations for the exhibition "Pharaohs of the Sun." Photographs were taken at the time, but these are no longer to be found. "What I remember is an entire corridor of palette racks of heads, body parts, and royal regalia. Some of them we assembled for 'Pharaohs of the Sun'" (personal communication, Rita Freed, 12 January 2009).

2 The Sheikh Labib storehouse at Karnak contains numerous small fragments of what are to all intents and purposes colossus parts, but only the more easily recognizable as such are included here.

3 Desroches Noblecourt 1972 and Desroches Noblecourt 1974.

4 Freed 1999.

5 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, n. 2 p. 1, appears to imply that the Karakôl numbers were initiated at the time of entry of the colossus fragments, i.e., no. 43 (the Louvre fragment) being the forty-third fragment of the series. This particular colossus actually consisted of several fragments, each with the same Karakôl number (see below). However, the fact that our G16 and H24 have Karakôl nos. 333 and 334 respectively puts this assumption in question.

6 Journal d'Entrée and Temporary Register numbers for the Egyptian Museum were verified in February 2009. For the items then exhibited in the galleries of the museum (in the "pink room"), the numbers correspond.

7 Freed 1999, n. 15, p. 199 (concerning a head with one ear having oval piercing, the other a circular one): "Cairo museum basement, number not yet assigned" (for lack of further information the head is not included in this study). The number of a fragment of base with feet (L59(?), see below) is also unknown.

8 Partridge 2007, p. 36, quoted by Manniche 2007, p. 11 with n. 26. According to an interview with Farouk Hosni, minister of culture, in *Al-Ahram Hebdo*, no. 759, 25–31 March 2009, this museum is now scheduled to open in 2012.

9 Regrettably, this was not accessible to the present writer during fieldwork in March 2009. Some of the heads photographed by the CFEETK would have come to the reserves of the Luxor Museum where about six heads were seen in January 2007 (personal communication from R. Partridge, 8 March 2009 and Partridge 2007, p. 36).

10 Tefnin 1975, p. 62.

11 One may well heed the observations of Alan Schulman regarding the damage wrought to the monuments of Senmut (Schulman 1969–70), cf. the review by J.R. Harris in Harris 1973b, p. 253, concluding that a "tendency to impose a single interpretation on closely related, yet basically separate phenomena, and a failure to take into account sufficiently of the nature, statistical status, and probative value of documentation, are major obstacles to the understanding of many Egyptological problems, and one must constantly question accepted positions—as Schulman has amply demonstrated").

12 Unpublished dissertation by Ramadan Saad, "Les martelages de la XVIIIe dynastie dans le temple d'Amon-Re à Karnak," Université de Lyon 1972. Because of their state of preservation Ramadan Saad was unable to determine whether the colossi had been disfigured or were simply broken. In any case, "nous pouvons dire que le travail est resté inachevé, probablement parce qu'on avait décidé de remployer les blocs dans une nouvelle construction ou de les cacher." Yet he noticed that the names of the Aten had been randomly attacked with various tools.

13 Freed 1999, p. 196. On talatat the khat is white; see, for example, Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, fig. on p. 44.

14 Erroneously called 'limestone.'

15 Cf. the statuary of Amenhopis III, who favored this kind of headdress (Bryan in Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 169) and Bryan 1997, pp. 61–62.

16 The JE entry runs as follows: "Fragments d'une autre statue colossale du même type [*sc.* as JE 49528]. Restent: la tête, [erased] le buste et le ventre, les cuisses jusqu'aux genoux. La partie inférieure des jambes manquent. [Ces deux statues ont été trouvées, en Août 1925, à quelque distance en avant de la porte Est du temenos du Grand Temple de Karnak, au cours des travaux d'établissement du drain destiné à combattre l'infiltration]."

17 Johnson 1996, p. 69.

18 First noted by Rita Freed in Freed 1999, pp. 197–98.

19 Restored from parallel (K50).

20 A number 58.7 written on the underside of the right part of the khat appears to be the lower half of a Cairo TR number, cf. C6 and D10.

21 The head is beautifully displayed in the new museum, which has been open to the public since 2004. The publication entitled *Alexandria National Museum* (n.d.), intending "to contribute, albeit a little, to the reader's knowledge of the jewel of Egypt, Alexandria, and to introduce the collection on display at its latest museum," does not mention this head at all and contains a great many objects which are not in this museum. Before its removal to Alexandria it may have been in the basement of the Cairo Museum, as it was not among those photographed in the Karakôl at Karnak in the 1970s (for these see below).

22 Personal information from R. Partridge. No catalog was available.

23 Journal d'Entrée dated 24 January 1998: "Bust of Akhenaten with double crown. Sandstone. H 210cm. Was in basement R.42."

24 Indicating that the colossus was registered in the museum on 29 May 1949. "Buste d'Akhnaton. Grès. Found sous-sol S21."

25 According to Hanane Gaber at the Cairo Museum, JE 98891 refers to a coin (personal communication, June 2009). The entry in the Journal d'Entrée, dated 3 January 1998, runs as follows: "Head of Akhenaten. Sandstone. 155cm. Found in SS17." On the head is written the number 13.3.58.6. The museum card has a note saying that this is wrong. It is written in the same hand as the numbers on A2 and D10.

26 The Journal d'Entrée was written on 3 January 1998. At that time the head was "found in SS.17" (of the basement).

27 I am indebted to Louise Chu of the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco for information about this venue. The head is cat. 40.

28 The Journal d'Entrée provides the following information, dated 3 March 1998: "head of Akhenaten. Sandstone. 150cm. Found in SS.17" (*sc.* of the basement).

29 Freed 1999, p. 198, pl. l viiib.

30 De Wit 1950, p. 22 describes the plumes as two.

31 Edwards 1976, Harry Burton photograph p. 119. The comparison was also made by Harris 1973a, p. 11, n. 37.

32 "Brought from the basement and restored." Information from the museum, kindly forwarded by Hanane Gaber. The torso has the number 58.9 written on it, similar to the TR nos. on A2 and C6.

33 "Un très beau fragment composé du torse et de la tête en face de 'D' (la coiffure présente la particularité suivante: les parties retombantes du *nems* ont été retaillées et considérablement diminuées; il y a eu modification voulue ou restauration."

34 An example of khat + four plumes can be seen on a relief from Amarna now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: Manniche 2007, fig. 12.

35 Cf. another head of indurated limestone, now in Hamburg (1966.96) that is also badly mutilated (Eaton-Krauss 1981, pp. 245–51). It has remains of a double uraeus and therefore represents Nefertiti. It is from a different series, as is also the large sandstone head of a queen with double uraeus found in the Karnak 'cachette' (Arnold 1996, cat. no. 41, ill. p. 6).

36 In the Karnak material, the 'red' crown on its own is actually yellow where colors remain, e.g., Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, fig. p. 47 (lower). The

photograph of the colossus in the Louvre, p. 135 with Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 8 suggests that this was also the case with the colossus, where it is without much doubt the lower part of a double crown.

37 Owing to a technical mishap, publication of the photograph was delayed for a year.

38 Chevrier mentions four, but this presumably included the head of the present colossus.

39 Entry in the Journal d'Entrée dated 1931: "colossal statue of IV, naked but without genitals. H 2.95."

40 Thus Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 2 and n. 1, p. 43.

41 The upper part of a double crown is mentioned by Harris 1977a, p. 7, n. 14, the "surfaces [*sc.* of the Louvre head and the crown] corresponding along the diagonal line of the break." This information was provided by Desroches Noblecourt, no doubt originating from the archives of the CFEETK, cf. Desroches Noblecourt 1974, n. 1, p. 43: "Le *pschent* dont les fragments ont été trouvés a été également brisé à la base de l'uraeus."

42 Harris 1977a, pp. 6–7, supported by information on the separate double crown. Harris now has misgivings over the Louvre piece (personal communication, July 2009).

43 Major R. Gayer Anderson was seconded to the Egyptian army in 1906. As recruiting officer, he traveled the length of Egypt and was often offered antiquities by locals. He retired in 1924, before the first colossus was officially discovered. Unless the head fragment had surfaced by other means, he must have acquired it on the art market before he returned to England in 1942.

44 Personal communication, 11 May 2009, from Sylvia Schoske.

45 Personal communication, 23 May 2009.

46 The finds from the Brock excavations (nos. 51, 53a–c, and 54a,f) were moved to Sheikh Labib in May 2009 from the former "sewerage storehouse."

47 Cf. the feet on a colossus base, presumably of Nefertiti, found reused in the precinct of Mut: van Dijk 2008, p. 247.

48 The leg fragment is displayed below JE 49528. In the Journal d'Entrée the entry runs as follows: "Fragment d'une statue colossale d'IV, antérieure au schisme, mais déjà traité dans le style special de l'époque d'Akhenaton. Il reste de cette statue la tête et le buste & une partie des jambes (sans les pieds). Grès. H. approx. de la statue complete 4 metres. Karnak (devant la porte Est du temenos du Grand Temple)." See also the following note.

49 Cf. the sculpture fragments of granite and quartzite found by Redford, above, n. 1.

50 Cf. a base of granite found reused in the precinct of Mut: van Dijk 2008, p. 247.

Notes to Chapter 3

1 Weigall 1922a, p. 63.

2 Wolf 1957, p. 453.

3 Wolf 1957, p. 454.

4 A quote from the short hymn to the Aten, Davies 1903–1908, IV, pl. 32, col. 4: "You are mother and father for those whose eyes you have made."

5 Pillet 1961, pp. 81–95, esp. p. 91. This interpretation is also reflected in several other works, including Manniche 1994, pp. 162–63.

6 Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 217.

7 Westendorf 1963, pp. 269ff. This and some of the following statements were conveniently put together by Grimm and Schlögl 2005, p. 7, n. 4.

8 Westendorf 1963, p. 273.

9 Barta 1975, pp. 91ff.

10 Barta 1975, p. 92.

11 Barta 1975, p. 93.

12 Redford 1977, pp. 25–26.

13 Wildung 1989, p. 179–80.

14 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 37.

15 Westendorf 1963, pp. 274–76.

16 Bryan in Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 102.

17 Johnson 1998, pp. 88 and 90.

18 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, pp. 37–39, fig. 27.

19 Robins 1997a, p. 150.

20 Robins 2003, p. 229.

21 Eaton-Krauss 1981, p. 260.

22 Hari 1985, p. 11.

23 Grimm and Schlögl 2005, esp. ch. 2.

24 Leblanc 1980, pp. 69–89.

25 Leblanc (1980) on p. 79 compares the 'sexless' colossus of Akhenaten with representations of statues depicted in the tomb of Meryra I at Amarna. In the publication of the scene, however, there is a clear line suggesting a tight-fitting garment from the waist down, or at least a belt: Davies 1903–1908, I, pl. 33 (3 out of 4 examples).

26 Leblanc 1980, pp. 88–89.

27 Tombs of Panehsy (Davies 1903–1908, II, pl. 19) and Huya (Davies 1903–1908, III, pls. 10–11).

28 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, pp. 39–41 and Desroches Noblecourt 1972, p. 12.

29 Leblanc 1980, p. 89.

30 Johnson in Berman 1990, pp. 29–46.

31 Vandersleyen 1984. The quote is from the very beginning of the article.

32 Harris 1977a. Cf. the comments by Eaton-Krauss 1981, n. 3, pp. 245–46: "Until such a depiction [*sc.* of Nefertiti wearing red, white or double crown] comes to light, Harris' reattribution of the four colossi should be considered speculative." As also pointed out by Eaton-Krauss, one would expect a representation of the queen to have carried a double uraeus (for this see Harris 1977a, n. 25, p. 8). Of all the relevant heads now known, only two (our G15 and H24, but possibly also H23) would allow for an alteration from an original single uraeus to a double uraeus. Other uraei would appear to have been deliberately mutilated (our G16, H19–21, H25–26), not just broken off accidentally.

33 Harris and Manniche 1976, p. 10; Harris 1976a; 1977b, pp. 340, 342–43.

34 Desroches Noblecourt had also noted the existence of more than one colossus with this headdress, but her conclusions differed. The number quoted in literature has until now not exceeded four. See also Spieser below.

35 Cf. van Dijk 2008, pp. 246–50.

36 Eaton-Krauss 1981, pp. 260–64; Robins 1997b, p. 256.

37 Vandersleyen 1984, p. 13.

38 Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, pp. 113–14, 208 (quotation on p. 113). This is echoed, briefly, in a popular article (Partridge 2007).

39 Spieser 2004, pp. 5–21, esp. pp. 14–17.

40 Bryan 1997, pp. 61–62, quoting examples of Sethos II and Ramesses II. In the late Eighteenth Dynasty this headdress was a common choice for group statues of kings and gods. JE 49529 (with 'klaft') is among those cited in n. 16.

41 Hawass 2005, p. 111. The use of the definite article before Atum is slightly confusing. The author also identifies (all?) the colossi wearing the double crown (not specifically nemes + double crown) with Atum.

42 This idea was first mentioned by Vandersleyen 1988, pp. 25–26. In Johnson 1998, pp. 90–91, Johnson sees Akhenaten as having an important part to play in his father's deification program: that of Shu, the son, and that "the deified Amenhotep III and Akhenaten's new sun god, the Living Aten, were one and the same god." A representation at a very small scale showing what can only be the king in the guise of a young Shu, wearing side-lock and three plumes, can be seen supporting the cartouches of the Aten in an offering scene in the tomb of Mahu at Amarna (Davies 1903–1908, IV, pl. 31).

43 Reeves 2001, pp. 100–101.

44 Harris 2005. The article was published in Danish, the quotation being rendered from the original English text. The following lines are also to a large extent taken from this source. For additional comments on the obelisks themselves and better photographs see Harris 2007. The obelisks are here estimated as having been around 7.65 to 7.80m tall.

45 Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, pp. 113–14, 208.

46 Kozloff, paper read at ARCE meeting in Seattle, 27 April 2008, to be published in Fs Silvermann, edited by J. House-Wegner (personal communication, 10 June 2009). At a seminar held in Montepulciano (Italy) 23–24 August 2008, Kozloff briefly referred to the essence of her ARCE paper when showing a slide of a colossus in the Cairo museum with the comment "from the reign of Amenophis III or early Amenophis IV." The paper, entitled "Amenhotep IVs Gem-Pa-Aten Colossi Unmasked as Usurpations," was favorably received by Angenot 2008, p. 49, n. 99.

47 Kozloff, Bryan and Berman 1992, pp. 172–75.

48 Johnson 1996.

49 Cf. also the use of the combination of double crown + round, short wig, suggesting an incarnation of the god Neferhotep: Vandersleyen 1975/1976. On the 'second youth' see also Vandersleyen 1988.

50 The concealment of the male sex was presented in lectures by Gay Robins on "The construction of the male body" during a joint lecture tour with the present writer in Australia in 2006, now published in Robins 2008.

51 Hawass et al. 2010.

52 Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, p. 154. The kilt is white, the ribbons are red.

53 On the fan-shaped navel see Eaton-Krauss 1981, pp. 258–64. At Karnak it is only to be found in sculpture, not on the talatat. At Amarna the circular navel occurs sporadically in relief as well as in sculpture. The fan shape can in fact be traced back to the Fourth Dynasty in representations of corpulent men.

54 An example of one fan-shaped navel having been replaced with another can be seen in a representation of Nefertiti in a relief from Amarna (now Ashmolean Museum, Oxford 1893.1–41): Aldred 1973, cat. no. 31.

55 The 'sun-shade' of Queen Tiy as depicted the tomb of Huya, Davies 1903–1908, III, pl. 10; cf. color photograph in Manniche 2007, back cover.

56 Bryan in Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 125 with n. 1.

57 In Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 146.

58 In Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 156; cf. pp. 128–29.

59 Müller 1988, vol. 1, p. 66.

60 Freed, Markowitz and D'Auria 1999, p. 113.

61 See Desroches Noblecourt's suggestion quoted in Chapter 5, page 143 concerning a possible sensitivity to light.

62 For an example of alteration from nemes to khat in a figure of Mycerinos, see Grimm 2005.

63 Theoretically a crown in a separate piece could have been affixed; cf. the Louvre colossus (H27) and its crown (fig. 2.50), which was either originally separate or broken off later.

64 Harris 1977a, esp. pp. 9–10.

65 Aldred 1961a, pp. 73–74.

66 Lange and Hirmer 1968, p. 457.

67 Spieser 2004. Very similar views, but without the linguistics, were expressed in Spieser 2001.

68 Spieser 2004, pp. 9, 10, and 14.

69 Spieser 2004, pp. 15–16.

70 Spieser 2004, p. 16. The combination of khat + double crown was first used by Hatshepsut; cf. Eaton-Krauss 1977, n. 89, p. 37.

71 Hornung 1999, p. 78.

72 Robins 2005, p. 4, with ref. to Redford 1981b.

73 Vandersleyen 1984, pp. 5–8.

74 Schäfer 1974, p. 96.

75 Bianchi 1990, pp. 35–40.

76 See Baines 1975. The penis sheath does not in itself have a sexual significance, except possibly in the Amarna period when anx alternates with *nfr* in royal names (p. 19).

77 Cruz-Uribe 1992.

78 Hornung 1999, p. 78.

79 Grimm and Schlögl 2005, pp. 10–11 and pl. 11.

80 De Wit 1950, p. 22.

81 Harris 1977a. The quote is on p. 10.

82 Abd-ur-Rahman 1956. Cf. Harris and Manniche 1976, p. 10 (translated from the Danish): "The assimilation to Shu, one of the first two creations of the solar demiurge Ra-Atum, and the one who supports the vault of heaven, underlines his status both as the young sun-god (and hence the child in the solar disk) and as the unifying mediator of the universe, the one who brings together the upper realms and the world below and maintains cosmic order *(maat)*."

83 An interpretation already outlined by Manniche 2007, pp. 14–16.

84 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 13, n. 1. However, the epithet appears to have been applied sporadically to Amenhotep III: Gabolde 2007, n. 20.

85 Assmann 1991, p. 39.

86 Time may elsewhere be represented visually by the presence of a clepsydra, for example being offered to a deity by a king; cf. Vandersleyen 1975/1976, pp. 541–42 with reference to the word *ʿḥʿ* (the god Neferhotep granting *ʿḥʿ nfr*, and Khonsu (in Greco-Roman times) being *nb ʿḥʿ*.)

87 Assmann 2002, p. 220.

88 For the khat, see in particular Eaton-Krauss 1977.

89 See for the moment Ćwiek 2008. The tendency had already been pointed out by Goebs 2001, pp. 322–26, esp. p. 324. A study of the khat up to and including the Amarna period has previously been undertaken by Eaton-Krauss 1977, pp. 21–39, but without discussing the significance underlined here.

90 Hawass 2007, pp. 29–30; cf. Eaton-Krauss 1977, n. 34, p. 25.

91 Cf. Harris 1973a, p. 13, n. 49. Cf. also ten fragments of nemes in faience from Amarna statues; Samson 1973, pp. 54–56. The yellow statue Louvre N831 with nemes was included in the "Pharaohs of the Sun" exhibition (cat. no. 85), but without further clarification as to its date within the Amarna period. The khat has been related to the king's role as a priest, a concept that may have been particularly fitting in the case of Akhenaten, but the idea was dismissed by Eaton-Krauss 1977, p. 27.

92 Lange and Hirmer 1978, pls. 16 and 17.

93 Eaton-Krauss 1977, pp. 30–31, and for the wig-like pattern see n. 28, p. 25 with reference to *CoA* III:2, pl. XXIX. Cf. an early comment by Schäfer 1934, p. 18 on the way in which, in one of the colossi, the head cloth and wig "have fused in a mysterious union, revealing that to the Egyptians hair style and head cloth could merge."

94 Troy 1986, p. 127, with numerous relevant comments *passim*.

95 Manniche 2008, as well as a paper read at the Tenth ICE, Rhodes, May 2008, now published (with additions) in Manniche 2010.

96 Assmann 2002, p. 219 (original German edition 1996).

97 As represented in O. Cairo 25074: Manniche 2006, fig. 3.

98 Manniche 2006, pp. 97–112.

99 Manniche 2006, pp. 104–109. The items discussed include the lotus head, the cartouche-shaped container and the two fetuses from the tomb of Tutankhamun, and the mourning scenes in the royal tomb at Amarna.

100 Redford 1984, fig. 11, p. 103. Chevrier's numbering system is questionable.

101 Three colossi (A1, K38, K50) have undamaged belts. The first and the last are best studied in Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 4 and Desroches Noblecourt 1974, fig. 12.

102 Grimm and Schlögl 2005, pp. 8–9, pl. 12.
103 Russmann 1989, pp. 95–97, fig. 43 (two photos).
104 Granite statue of Hetepdif in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, probably of the Third Dynasty, with the names of the first three kings of the Second Dynasty.
105 As, for example, on a Karnak talatat now in the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek in Copenhagen Jørgensen 2005, cat. no. 5.
106 There is a good example on a talatat in Smith and Redford 1976, pl. 21.
107 For example, Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, p. 136.
108 Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, pp. 169 and 175.
109 Spalinger 1988.
110 Bryan in Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, pp. 169–70.
111 Freed 1999, p. 196, especially JE 49528 and JE 49529.
112 Johnson 1998, p. 87.

Notes to Chapter 4

1 In the Electronic Egyptology Forum (EEF) of 28 July 2008, in a discussion of the theogamy scenes, Stephen Renton of Macquarie University, Sydney, made the following general comments on the accessibility of temple decoration: "Just who the intended audience was becomes extremely problematic, as the concept of audience in ancient Egypt is vastly different to ours. We need to consider not only a possible contemporary audience (e.g., members of the priesthood, administration, maybe even the gods), but more importantly a 'future' audience in the context of ancient Egyptian temples, particularly with respect to monumental inscriptions and wall scenes. As a starting point I'd look at Assmann's idea of monumental discourse (J. Assmann, *The Mind of Egypt* (New York, 2002, pp. 63ff.) and the ancient Egyptians' creation of a sacred space and time of permanence, quite different still to our idea of eternity. To my mind the divine birth scene was not devised or designed with a contemporary audience in mind, but more for this sacred space and time, something akin to Brunner's canonisation argument and the institutionalisation of permanence not just for Hatshepsut, but the office and ideology of kingship and its relationship to Amun at the time. When the divine birth scene was carved into the stone temple wall, the story immediately entered the 'cosmos' and became eternal. For the purposes of a propaganda study, access to that part of the temple essentially becomes a moot point. The question then is: can we view this sacred space and time, or the ancient Egyptian concept of the cosmos, as a possible audience for propaganda? Without a 'human' face to such an audience our modern understanding of propaganda struggles to fit in a meaningful way."
2 Aldred 1961a, pp. 73–74.
3 Roehrig 1999, remarks concerning the sex of cat. nos. 49–52, pp. 200–206.
4 Russmann 1989, pp. 113–16 (the material is erroneously identified as limestone).
5 It shares this distinguishing feature with another head probably also to be dated to the Amarna period: the Salt head in the Louvre, showing a private individual with pierced earlobes and red complexion. See, for example, Manniche 1994, cover photograph.

6 Arnold 1996, pp. 17–20.
7 Russman 1989, p. 115.
8 Reeves 2001, p. 84.
9 Excellent color photograph in Vergnieux and Gondran 1997, pp. 42 and 45. The king here wears the white khat. Cf. the less striking face with large eyes on pp. 44 and 46.
10 Hamann 1944, p. 239.
11 Wolf 1957, p. 453.
12 Vandier 1958, pp. 332–33.
13 Quoted from the English translation of the 4th ed.: Schäfer 1974, pp. 16–17.
14 Quoted by Desroches Noblecourt 1967, p. 34 and again Desroches Noblecourt 1974, n. 1 on p. 10 (but in both instances without attribution), and by Vandersleyen 1984, p. 5 (with attribution to Drioton). It proved difficult to trace the original source of this quotation, but in a letter of 27 July 2009 Vandersleyen suggested the following solution:

"En ce qui concerne l'expression 'réalisme de cauchemar,' j'ai d'abord été embarrassé par votre question. Mme Desroches Noblecourt, p. 34 du catalogue de 1967, cite l'expression entre guillemets, disant 'qui a pu être employée à son propos' ; elle en conteste d'ailleurs la violence excessive et finalement peu adéquate. L'expression se lit dans le volume d'Étienne Drioton et Pierre du Bourguet, *Les pharaons à la conquête de l'art* (Desclée-De Brouwer), de 1965, p. 271, mais aussi entre guillemets. J'ai pensé que c'était la première apparition de cette expression. J'ai donc pensé à Drioton. Le chanoine Drioton est mort en 1961; il avait rédigé de ce livre ce qui précède la 3e dynastie (cf. la préface, p. 15). 'À mesure qu'à partir de là,' continue le Père du Bourguet, 'j'avançais dans la composition de l'ouvrage, le rôle du pharaon s'imposa de plus en plus à moi, en même temps que l'ensemble prenait de plus grandes proportions. J'ai dû alors, avec l'assentiment exprès de mon illustre co-auteur, orienter dans le même sens par quelques remarques insérées dans son texte la part dont il avait assumé la rédaction et décrire plus extensivement les pièces plus saillantes qu'il citait.' C'est tout. La raison pour laquelle je crois que l'expression vient de Drioton est précisément que l'expression est entre guillemets; le Père du Bourguet semble indiquer par là qu'elle ne lui appartient pas. En effet, il y a d'autres expressions extrêmes dans le livre qui ne sont pas mises en évidence par des guillemets: 'Le physique dégénéré du roi et la conscience qu'il en avait . . . ' (p. 271); 'un corps déformé dont il avait honte . . . ' (p. 271); 'ce réalisme peut paraître vulgaire, repoussant et monstrueux . . . '(p. 272) ; 'Le hideux, dans un être marqué par la dégénérescence . . . ' (p. 303); 'les exagérations monstrueuses'; 'ces visions d'horreur, qui font penser aux images reflétées dans un miroir déformant' (p. 303). Tout cela n'est pas entre guillemets. Je pense donc que 'réalisme de cauchemar' est de Drioton, sans autre preuve. Notez que ce livre qui associe Drioton et du Bourguet n'est cité dans la bibliographie d'aucun des deux dans le *Who was who*, 3e éd. 1995, p. 59 (du Bourguet) et p. 129 (Drioton). Ce n'est d'ailleurs pas un bon livre dont j'ai fait jadis une critique assez cruelle (*CdÉ*

452, 1967, pp. 67–68), dont le P. du Bourguet ne m'a jamais tenu rigueur, en homme de science sérieux qu'il était. Merci de m'avoir invité à démontrer ma pensée, ce que je n'avais jamais dû faire jusqu'à présent."

In Drioton and Vandier 1938 the authors (Drioton? Vandier?) describe the colossi as having a "réalisme brutal," but "le corps est traité en grandes masses géométriques, ce qui donne une esthétique un peu spéciale qui n'est dénué, cependant, ni de sensibilité, ni de charme; mais c'est surtout sur le visage que s'est porté l'effort de l'artiste. Il a réussi à donner à la pierre une expression de vie intérieure et de spiritualité qui reflète, d'une manière tout à fait attachante, l'extraordinaire utopie dans laquelle s'est complu le roi. Il y a, dans ces statues, quelque chose de maladif et d'immatériel, qui efface l'impression de monstruosité presque caricaturale que dégagent, au premier abord, les difformités physiques" (p. 487). Cf. Drioton 1949, pp. 10–11: "Les idées sur l'art étaient toutes personelles et elles dérivaient de sa mystique . . . . Il fallait, pour être sincere, sculpter l'homme tel qu'il était avec ses malformations physiques . . . statues colossales qui le représentaient selon ses vues. L'exagération intentionelle de ses disgraces corporelles . . . ."

The quotation was used in a variant form ('académisme de cauchemar') by Jean Leclant at a presentation of a French translation of Aldred 1988/1991 to the French academy (*Compte-rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 142/1, 1998, p. 19).

15 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, pp. 14–15.

16 Müller and Settgast 1976, cat. no. 8.

17 Tefnin 1975, pp. 62–63.

18 Tefnin 1975, p. 65.

19 Vandersleyen 1995, pp. 418–25 with the quotation on p. 420; cf. also pp. 463–65.

20 Hornung 1999, p. 44.

21 Freed 1999, pp. 195–200.

22 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, pp. 8–9.

23 Desroches Noblecourt 1972, p. 2, n. 6 saw "some traces of yellow" on the body of the Louvre piece. This observation was not included in Desroches Noblecourt 1974.

24 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 8. It is not quite evident whether red paint was actually extant or its presence was simply presumed.

25 Reeves 2001, p. 95.

26 Paper read at the Tenth ICE, Rhodes, May 2008, see also Laboury 2008.

27 Merriam-Webster's on-line definition of 'parallax.'

28 Angenot acknowledges the inspiration from Laboury's work on the sculpture of Tuthmosis III (p. 35): Laboury 1998. Her paper is dated March 2008, but includes a reference to the meeting in Seattle, 27 April.

29 Angenot 2008, esp. pp. 33ff.

30 Illustrated and described in Angenot 2008, pp. 39–40 with fig. 4.

31 Kozloff, Bryan, and Berman 1992, p. 127 with n. 7, quoting an opposite view held by John Baines. See also n. 1 of this chapter.

32 Cf. n. 1 to this chapter.

Notes to Chapter 5

1 Gabolde 1998, p. 9.
2 Weigall 1922b.
3 Helck 2001, ch. 4.
4 Photograph in Reeves 2001, fig. p. 84 from Elliot Smith 1912.
5 Summarized in Angenot 2008, pp. 28–30. See also Risse 1971.
6 Redford 1984, pp. 57–58. Redford refers to Aldred 1968, pp. 113ff.
7 Mariette 1855, p. 57, n. 30: "Il est probable que si Akhenaten éprouva réellement le malheur dont ses traits semblent révéler l'évidence, ce fut pendant les guerres d'Aménophis III au milieu des peuplades du Sud. L'usage de mutiler les prisonniers et les blessés est, parmi ces peuplades, aussi ancient que le monde."
8 Strachey 1939.
9 Newberry 1928.
10 Cf. J.R. Harris in the Danish catalog to the Akhenaten and Nefertiti exhibition in Copenhagen 1976: Harris 1976a, p. 27. The case of Akhenaten and his daughters has been quoted extensively in almost every book dealing with the period.
11 Elliot Smith 1912, CGC no. 61075. pp. 51–56. The entry here deals mostly with the age of the mummy and cranial peculiarities. For a photograph of the skull, recently restored, see Ikram and Dodson 1997, p. 37 (called Smenkhkare(?)).
12 Elliot Smith 1912, p. 51.
13 Elliot Smith 1923, pp. 82–88.
14 Reeves 1990.
15 Ameline and Quercy 1920.
16 Aldred 1961b, Aldred and Sandison 1962.
17 Aldred 1988/1991, chs. 18 and 20, with a lengthy presentation of the case and the quotation on p. 236.
18 Ghalioungui 1947, p. 40.
19 Ghalioungui 1947, p. 36.
20 Burridge 1993. Also advocated more recently by Vishnoi 2000. Cf. also Cohen and Schneiderman 1989.
21 Robins 1994, ch. 6, cf. also Robins 1993 and Robins 2003.
22 Robins 2003, pp. 226–27.
23 Hornung 1971, esp pp. 76–77.
24 The transition is, however, mellowed when the king wears a nemes.
25 Tefnin 1975, p. 65.
26 Lauffray 1979, pp. 160–61 with color photograph of the head and torso in the Luxor Museum.
27 Sobhy 1930. See, however, Laboury 2008, p. 183.
28 Arramon and Crubezy, 1994.
29 Gabolde 1998, pp. 10–11.
30 Braverman, Redford, and Mackowiak 2009. The Egyptological input is marred by overconfident presuppositions of the early life of the king, his family relations, and the circumstances of their deaths. The "mellifluous (female) voice"

attributed to the king, and submitted as one of the symptoms of his affliction, belonged to Nefertiti (original text in Davies 1903–1908, VI, pl. 25 (cols. 22–23), translation in Manniche and Dahl Hermansen 2009, p. 244.)

31 To argue this point the article reproduces, among others, a picture of two golden statuettes from the tomb of Tutankhamun, one of which at least may have been made for Nefertiti (cf. Harris 1973a, p. 12, n. 46.)

32 Walter L. Miller, 12 May 2009, on http://www.annals.org/cgi/eletters/150/8/556 (letter no longer available on-line).

33 Personal communication, June 2009.

34 Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, cat. 86 and 87. For further bibliography see Laboury 2008, p. 185, n. 15 and 16.

35 Best seen in an 1827 drawing by Robert Hay, reproduced in, e.g., Aldred 1988/1991, pl. 14.

36 Brant 1997. Wikipedia defines transgender as "a general term applied to a variety of individuals, behaviors, and groups involving tendencies that diverge from the normative commonly, but not always, assigned at birth, as well as the role traditionally held by society"; that is, it would be a case of behavioral pattern rather than pathology. Brant (p. 220) visualizes a situation where a gilded representation of the Aten (she suggests a three-dimensional cult statue) would serve as a cult image, reflecting, when he came to worship, the king's own image. This in turn would have caused the optical reflections in a curved 'mirror' to appear distorted, thus providing a reason for the king's unusual facial characteristics.

37 Russmann 1989, p. 115.

38 Freed 1999, p. 196.

39 Desroches Noblecourt 1974, p. 2.

40 Freed 1999, pp. 196 and 197.

41 Burridge 1993, pp. 70–71.

42 Cf. Gilbert 1958.

43 Six of these are currently on display in the "pink" Amarna room in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. One traveled with the Akhenaten and Nefertiti exhibition: Müller and Settgast 1976, cat. no. 59, said to represent Tutankhamun; cf. however Vandier 1958, n. 4 on pp. 332–33 describing them as having "des caractères déja amarnien . . . encore d'un réalisme assez adouci," implying an earlier date. For the sphinxes being attributed to Akhnaten/Nefertiti cf. Traunecker 1986, pp. 20–23.

44 Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, cat. no. 238.

45 Freed, Markowitz, and D'Auria 1999, fig. 91.

46 Manniche 1978.

47 Narrow slit: tomb of Paatenemheb now in Leiden; shrivelled eyes: temple musicians at Amarna. See also Manniche 1991, chs. 6 and 7; Manniche 2009.

48 Manniche 1978, p. 20; Manniche 2008.

49 Translation, including brackets, from Simpson 2003, pp. 279–80 and 282–83.

50 For funerary beliefs in the Amarna period; see Nyord 2009, esp. pp. 112–13.

51 Hawass et al. 2010.

52 In 1983, Philip Glass composed the third of his operas focussing on extraordinary, historical personalities: Einstein, Gandhi—and Akhenaten. The part of

the king is to be sung by a counter-tenor. This significant choice was made by Glass who wanted his main character to stand out from the rest, rather than being based on academic considerations. Nefertiti is cast as a mezzo soprano in order to create a close affinity between the two. See Glass 1987, p. 156 and a discussion in Frandsen 2001, pp. 238–40.

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Karakôl Numbers Concordance

Karakôl no.	No. in this book
39	I30
42	D12
43	H28
44	K41
45	C5
46	G16
47	E13
48	G15
49	H26
50	K39
51	I33
52	I29
53	K40
54	G18
55	G19
56	H20
57	I32
58	I31
59	H23
276	H24
277	H21
278	H22
333	G17
334	H25
336	C7

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All numbers refer to figures

Lise Mannniche: 1.1, 1.8–10, 2.10, 2.12, 2.24, 2.25, 2.46, 2.47, 2.51a, 2.58, 2.60, 2.66, 2.67, 2.69, 2.70, 2.72–74, 2.76–78, 2.80, 2.82 b,c,d,e,g, 2.83–86, 3.1, 3.3–3.6, 3.11, 4.2, 4.3, 4.7, 5.2, 5.3, 5.4; Araldo De Luca/Archivio White Star: 1.2, 3.9; *ASAE* 1.3, 1.5, 2.5 a,b, 2.9 a,b, 2.17 a,b, 2.19 a,b, 2.26 a,b, 2.31, 2.43 a,b; Egyptian Museum, Cairo: 1.4, 2.8, 2.14 a,b, 2.20, 2.21, 2.45, 3.11, 4.1, 4.4, 4.5; CNRS/CFEETK: 1.6, 1.11, 2.1, 2.11, 2.13, 2.15, 2.22, 2.23, 2.27–2.30, 2.32–2.42, 2.44, 2.49 a,b, 2.50 a,b,c, 2.52 a,b, 2.53–2.57, 2.61–2.65, 2.68, 2.71, 2.75; *Pharaon Magazine*: 1.7; Robert Partridge: 2.2, 3.2; Hornemann 1951: 2.3 a,b, 2.18 a,b; Aldred 1973: 2.4; Kim Ryholt: 2.6, 2.7, 4.6, 5.1; Andreas F. Voegelin/ Antikenmusem Basel, 2.16; Kurt Hellemose: 2.25, 3.7; *Louisiana Revy* 1976: 2.31; Musée du Louvre: 2.48 a,b; Schoske 1993: 2.59; Edwin Brock: 2.79, 2.81 a–c, 2.82 a,f; Grimm and Schlögl 2005: 3.8.

Index

General Index

Index of Objects

The Akhenaten Colossi of Karnak

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